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The Leader

"THE one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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News of the Week.

If any political party would make way just now out of the stagnant slough of indifference, it must do so by carrying with it the great body of the People. We say this as much for politicians professed, as for the sake of the People. To obtain the assent and support of the People, appeal must be made not only to their convictions, but to their affections. Apply this test to the past session of Parliament and we shall see what it has done, not only in Acts formally passed, but in trying the efficiency of parties, or making good a footing for popular interests.

Ministers may be put out of the question. Their object—and thus far they have succeeded in it—has been to keep in; and they have once more persuaded some of the most honest Reformers that the great purpose of political life in England is "to keep out the Tories." Ministers have kept in, and have also achieved a surplus revenue; moreover, they have clipped off the Brick Duty. They have a bill for extending the Irish franchise, and they have passed a bill for preventing processions in Ireland,—which are apt to have a murderous tendency. They have a bill for pretending to give a constitution to the Australian colonies, in order to prop up the somewhat weakened authority of Downing-street at the antipodes. They seem really disposed to give the Cape of Good Hope the effective constitution which they have already given to Canada; because the Cape of Good Hope has all but rebelled, as Canada did. But the principle upon which they have most distinctly and vigorously taken their stand is that of maintaining the blockade squadron on the west coast of Africa, which does not prevent the slave-trade, but only obliges slave-traders to press the harder on their living freight. It was on this question, to beat Mr. Hutt and common sense, that they called the most rigid muster of their adherents; and many an old Reformer consented once more to play the part of a bung, lest the Tories should leak into office. "To such base uses may we come at last!" The Ministers, therefore, are out of the question in considering parties, having some relation to the People.

The Peel party, which not long since used to be the principal rival of the Whigs, is disbanded; its leader reposing, its members in part dispersed, or joining on occasion the excessively heterogeneous but not very numerous band of men who are endeavouring to move Parliament in treating questions on their merits. It is to this class, of doubtful numbers and limitation, that the greater activity of the session thus far is to be ascribed.

The other part of the Opposition on the left hand of the Speaker, the remnant of the old Tory party,—the long professed "friends of the farmer," also

"friends of the labourer,"—finds a difficulty in establishing its influence in any quarter. Although it is landlord to the former class, the farmers doubt it much—daily more and more. The labourer knows nothing about it; he cannot understand Mr. Disraeli's literary language, nor quite perceive the interest which labour has in a transfer of landlords' local burthens to the Consolidated Fund paid by the great body of the people. Neither is the affection of the people strongly attracted by Lord Stanley's efforts to whitewash Lord Roden and the Orange heroes of Dolly's Brae. The People does not perceive much achieved for it in this quarter, and does not feel its bowels yearn with affection excited by gratitude or old traditions. The traditions of the "bold peasantry, its country's pride," are cut off too recently by the workhouse.

Turn to the more popular parties, the Taxation Reformers under Cobden, the Parliamentary Reformers under Hume,—men who are doing something towards what the People have collectively demanded: but they are not doing enough. Their Taxation Reform is troublesome, indeed, to those who are officially charged with the conduct of public affairs, but does not grapple with the real mass of the burthens that bear upon the People. One instance of its omission—it makes no attempt to deal with the national debt. Ingenious Disraeli had not forgotten that hated monster, and it was duly to be dealt with in the catastrophe of his happy-ending romance; a romance, alas! put off till "next session." Hume offers for the People what is almost a Charter; but they do not care for it, precisely because it is clipped, and is not animated by a spirit of thorough reliance on the generous disposition of the masses. Though large, it is stinted and guarded in deference to the timid. The People dislikes timid men; as timid men too fearfully discover in times of danger.

The People speaks for itself in its efforts to improve its condition by associative attempts,—as in London, Leeds, Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield, and other places, experiments multiplying fast. It speaks for itself among the factory districts, in the demand of a general consent to keep labour within practicable limits of time, so that life shall not be utterly run out in the din and dust of the weaving-shed or the spinning-factory, but shall know something of what man is doing intellectually, something of what Nature is doing externally, and what man is born to know. But it finds popular leaders in Parliament conniving at official evasions intended to cheat the People of that enactment which, in 1847, Parliament could not refuse. The People does not find effective sympathy or agency in Parliament, and, therefore, parties in Parliament are weak from want of popular support. They are perpetually trying to move the nation without possessing the strength of the nation; and, until they do learn to win that great instrument of popular activity, they will still waste their efforts in disappointment and humiliation.

About the country all is quiet. Politics, except for the organized agitations of the parties we have named, are dead. The Londoner just now sees the world only in its holiday aspect. The metropolis is overrun with boys, boxes, and bonhomie,—the pleasing bustle of the holidays. In the factory districts wages are looking up, and trade moves. In the agricultural districts farmers are talking surlily; but there are not many incendiary fires. Ireland is preparing to lose its Lord Lieutenant with some grumbling, but without much real regret. The news of the papers now and for some time past has been grimly diversified by the strange records of crime, of domestic poisonings, hideous brutalities, with here and there the failure of justice through the preposterous and cumbrous technicalities of our law; excellent as that law is for the gentlemen of the long gown and the gentlemen of the dock. Education is the great remedy among others for the cure of this mortal disease of the uneasy classes.

After the storms of 1848 and 1849 Europe is again "at peace." Yet it is only the surface which is calm: the under current is nowhere stilled.

In France the Republican party appears resolved to advance more surely, for it has learned more of self-control. Meanwhile, the unstable Government of Prince Louis Napoleon rushes into extreme measures, imitating the fatal policies of the old monarchy: this, too, with a majority in the Assembly not to be relied on, and with an army that supports Socialist candidates. And the Reactionaries are openly dividing; for the Legitimists will not wait: M. de la Rochejaquelein urges the Assembly to decree the sense of France to be taken on the 1st of June, on the question whether the Republic shall be maintained, or the monarchy restored!

French bayonets yet linger in Italy. French troops, in conjunction with Austrian and Spanish (or Swiss) are to form the pontifical bodyguard. A day is at length fixed for the Pope's return; fixed, but not credited, for the attitude of the Roman population is not inviting. On the announcement of the Pope's "certain" return, instantly appears in Rome a proclamation by Mazzini. In spite of the popular Papal demonstrations to be got up by the ex-felon Gennaraccio; in spite of Cardinal Antonelli's circular to the diplomatic body, wherein he declares the "universal satisfaction" which "hailed the restoration of the legitimate Government,"—"the only thing wanted for entire satisfaction" being the return of the Holy Pontiff, it is clear that the Papacy can stand only so long as it shall be supported by the "Catholic arms" of France and her strange allies. In Piedmont the clergy are protesting against the Ministerial proposition (approved by the Chambers) to deprive them of their privileges; a proposition the more significant, inasmuch as it is made without reference to the Holy Sec. Radetzki threatens to confiscate half the property of all the Lombard

emigrants; against which the Cabinets of Piedmont, France, and England, "are remonstrating." The Piedmontese Cabinet also remonstrates with Switzerland for harbouring the Italian refugees,—and especially Mazzini,—since the Piedmontese agents failed in their attempt upon his "liberty." Executions and sentences to life-long imprisonment maintain the Bourbon prestige at Naples, while the police endeavour to obtain petitions against the constitution. Force alone rules the entire peninsula; the antagonist of force is force.

Germany also is put down. Bakounine (Russian) and Roedel (German) are sentenced to death for their share in the insurrection of Saxony. Prussia still plays in Schleswig-Holstein, still seeks to amuse the Germans with a Berlin-made unity. Würtemberg, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony make a show of quarrelling with Prussia. Victorious Austria turns clement for the nonce, after "only" eighty judicial murders in the Crown lands of Austria and Hungary. The Hungarian National Guard is to be unmolested: certain of the rebellious Honveds may be excused from military service. Meanwhile Kossuth and his companions are kept close prisoners in Turkey. Russia claims the pre-stipulated price of her help to the falling house of Hapsburg,—a port on the Adriatic, the bay and shore of Cattaro, whence the Czar may more readily annoy and out-manceuvre Lord Palmerston in Greece and Turkey, or elsewhere. Russian influence upholds King Otho in his refusal to negotiate till the English admiral has withdrawn and given up the vessels seized in the waters of Greece. Already, before Cattaro is openly ceded, Russian agents have urged the Montenegrins on forays across the Turkish border. But even Russia cannot escape the insurrectionary spirit, though tidings of its continual manifestation are kept back, as much as possible, from western sympathy. Russian troops are concentrating on the frontiers, and in the Danubian Principalities; and rumour is rife among them of an intention to occupy Prussia, should such a measure be deemed necessary for the maintenance of its internal tranquillity. All things tend to prove that the Powers are alive to the dangers of their situation, to the imminence of a collision between the two camps—that of the decrepid royal "families" and the nationalities of Europe.

Spain and Portugal alone are quiet, content in pride to be Spain and Portugal, however ruled. Spanish blood consents to sell the once most-prized dependency of Cuba to the United States. Portugal lies at the feet of a corrupt Minister, whose adventures recal the diamond-necklace intrigue that preceded the first revolution in France.

PARLIAMENT.

PROGRESS OF WORK DONE.

ROYAL ASSENT.—Party Processions (Ireland) Bill—Consolidated Fund Bill.
 BILLS PASSED.—Repeal of the Brick Duties—Pirates (Head Money) Repeal.
 BILLS IN COMMITTEE (COMMONS).—Australian Colonies Government—Small Tenements' Rating—County Rates Expenditure—Parliamentary Voters (Ireland)—Sunday Trading—Ecclesiastical Commission—Hours of Labour in Factories—Public Libraries and Museums.
 BILLS READ A SECOND TIME (COMMONS).—Management of Highways—Chief Justices' Salaries—Registration of Deeds (Ireland).
 IMPORTANT DEBATES (COMMONS).—Amendment to the Address negatived by 311 to 192—Ceylon Inquiry: vote of censure by Mr. Disraeli negatived by 18 to 140; an amendment by Mr. Hume negatived by 109 to 100—Mr. Disraeli's motion touching Burdens on Land negatived by 273 to 252—Mr. Hume's motion for Parliamentary Reform negatived by 242 to 96—Mr. Cobden's Resolutions for reduction of the National Expenditure negatived by 272 to 89—Sir Charles Wood's Financial Statement—Mr. Drummond's motion for Reduction of Expenditure negatived by 190 to 156—Mr. Hunt's motion on the African Blockade Question negatived by 232 to 154.
 (LORDS).—Amendment on the Address negatived by 152 to 103.

THE SESSION OF 1850.

The first part of the parliamentary session of 1850 has terminated. One third of the period annually devoted to legislation has passed away, and, as usual, the amount of work done is not very large, considering the time which has been occupied in its performance. The session commenced on the 31st of January, when the royal speech was delivered by commission. As this document held out no hope to the Protectionists that there would be the slightest revival of the corn-law, the "country party" in both Houses indulged in very angry language against Ministers and the Free-trade party generally; but they were evidently not prepared to take any decided step in vindication of their principles. Mr. CHARLES VILLIERS, who had been chosen to move the address, for the express purpose of showing that Ministers were determined to be firm on this point, whatever they might be on others,

made an excellent speech, in which he showed how much the country had already gained by free trade, and endeavoured to persuade the agriculturists that the distress from which they were suffering was but temporary. The amendment to the address, in both Lords and Commons, was very mild. The extreme Protectionists felt that they would have very little support if they proposed a return to protection, and therefore, in order to get up a show of strength, they followed Lord STANLEY's advice, and confined themselves to talking against free trade, without proposing any formal amendment in favour of their own principles: they only called for a distinct recognition of the agricultural distress. The division on the amendment to the address in the House of Lords was:—

For the address	152
For the amendment	103

Ministerial majority

In the Commons the defeat of the Country Party was still more signal, the numbers being:—

For the address	311
For the amendment	192

Ministerial majority

The result of this division, at the close of the very first debate of the session, showed plainly that, notwithstanding all their outdoor agitation during the winter, the Protectionists had gained no real strength in Parliament. It taught Ministers, also, that, whatever adverse conjuncture of events might occur to throw them out of office, they had, at least, no cause to be alarmed at any mere Protectionist movement to turn them out of Downing-street.

But, large as the Ministerial majority was at the opening of Parliament, it has more than once dwindled down to a very small number since that time. The first remarkable occasion was on Mr. DISRAELI's motion for a committee to consider such readjustment of local rates,—by transferring certain charges to the consolidated fund,—as might mitigate the agricultural distress. In support of this motion he made a very plausible speech, in which he declared that it was hopeless to look for any return to protection from the present Parliament. "Speaking with perfect frankness, and speaking not only for himself, he could not shut his eyes to the practical conclusion that a large majority in both Houses of Parliament wish not to disturb, at present, the settlement recently arrived at; and his party were convinced that no remedial measures, to the extent of an abrogation of recent legislation, could be expected from the present Parliament." But, if the landlords could not obtain the restoration of the corn-law, they might at least obtain special exemptions from taxation. Those who imagined that the landed proprietors of England were a luxurious, indolent, and aristocratic class, might not deem them entitled to so much consideration, but he denied that this was their character. In his opinion they were "the most thrifty, industrious, hard-living class, as a whole, that exists in the United Kingdom." With a view, then, to relieve this highly meritorious class from bearing more than a fair share of the national burdens, Mr. DISRAELI moved the following amendment:—

"That this House will resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration such revision of the laws providing for the relief of the poor of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as may mitigate the distress of the labouring classes."

The debate, which lasted two nights, was the most interesting which has taken place this session. The best speeches were those of Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Sir ROBERT PEEL, against the motion. The former insisted that the real question was, not the minor one before the House, but the expediency of commencing an entire review of the whole of our fiscal system. He flatly contradicted the assertion that the pressure of the poor-rates was heavier upon the land now than it was thirty or forty years ago. In 1813 the annual amount levied for the relief of the poor was equal to 12s. 8d. per head on the whole population; in 1850 it is only about 6s. 6d. per head. Again, the proportion of poor-rates paid by land has greatly diminished during the last twenty-four years. In 1826, land paid sixty-nine per cent. of the rates, while other property paid only thirty-one per cent.; in 1849, land paid only forty-five per cent., while other property paid fifty-five per cent. Sir ROBERT PEEL, following up this argument, showed that, as land pays only forty-five per cent. of the local taxation, the landlords would not get so much benefit from Mr. DISRAELI's proposed scheme—to pay £2,000,000 of the rate out of the Consolidated Fund—as the holders of other kinds of property would receive. The speech of Mr. GLADSTONE, in support of the motion, excited a good deal of surprise, and no doubt contributed, in some degree, to lessen the Ministerial majority. His professed object in supporting the motion was "to lessen the agitation for the restoration of protection by drawing off the moderate agitators against free trade." On a division the numbers were:—

For Mr. Disraeli's motion	252
Against	273

Majority for Ministers

The announcement of the numbers was received with cheers by the Protectionists, which is not surprising, after the statement of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, that the question before the House "involved a change of Administration." To run Ministers so very close on such a question might well raise the spirits of Mr. DISRAELI and his followers. Their success on this question inspired them with rather more confidence, and accordingly, in the following week, they once more measured their strength against that of Ministers upon the Ministerial bill for extending the franchise in Ireland. On the plea that Lord JOHN RUSSELL had not given sufficient notice of his intention to bring this bill forward, on the evening when it was introduced Mr. DISRAELI commenced a series of obstructive amendments, by which he succeeded, after the House had divided eight times, in causing Lord JOHN RUSSELL to give way for the time. This was a kind of victory, but not of much consequence in its results. Its chief importance was in showing that Mr. DISRAELI had made some progress in organizing a party prepared to follow him.

The first important measure introduced by Ministers was the Australian Colonies Government Bill. In moving certain resolutions preparatory to the introduction of the bill, Lord JOHN RUSSELL made a comprehensive statement of Ministerial intentions and policy relative to colonial affairs. A question had arisen, whether it was worth while to retain our Colonial Empire. He thought that it was our bounden duty to maintain those colonies which had been placed under our charge; but, while saying this, he added that there were many reasons why we should consider that they form part of the strength of the empire. He then took a glance at the actual position of the more important of our colonies, with a view to show that each one requires a constitution adapted to its peculiar wants, and that, therefore, the same general rule would not serve for all. With regard to Australia, the bill which he introduced was nearly the same as that of last year. It proposed that there should be but one council—a council of which two-thirds are to be composed of representatives elected by the people, and one-third named by the governor. The several Australian colonies would have their own councils, and an assembly of these councils would have the power, on the application of two colonies, of framing a tariff for the whole. This general council would also deal with the price of waste lands, only that it would be obliged to adopt a uniform price for the whole of Australia. The speech of Lord JOHN RUSSELL was followed by a debate of some length. Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH said he agreed with the Premier on many points, but he did not clearly understand his policy, nor could he yet put faith in the promises of the Colonial Office relating to Australia. Mr. ROEBUCK complained of the adoption of a single chamber in Australia. Mr. HUME and Mr. GLADSTONE both urged the extension of the British constitution, with its two representative chambers, to the colonies generally.

In the course of the debate Mr. HAWES was convicted of a new case of misquoting or garbling a despatch, for the purpose of supporting his assertion that the Governor of Van Diemen's Land was in favour of a single chamber. Mr. GLADSTONE showed that the Under Secretary had only read from the introduction to the governor's declaration, which was to the following effect:—"I should most strenuously recommend the adoption of a second or upper chamber." On the second reading the bill was warmly opposed by Mr. ROEBUCK, who characterized it as "the worst of all the abortions which had ever proceeded from an incompetent Administration." Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, while he assented to the principle of the bill, was persuaded that no assembly would prove acceptable to those colonies which should contain members nominated by the Crown. On Friday week the bill went into committee. In the course of the discussion which took place, Mr. MOWATT, speaking as a Colonist, said that the people in the Colonies did not care whether they had one or two Chambers, provided they had the power of electing all the members. While he thanked Lord JOHN RUSSELL for his colonial policy, he moved to omit all that portion of that clause relating to nomination by the Crown. Sir ROBERT PEEL opposed the amendment. He could not forego that check upon pure democracy which the Crown nomination afforded. On a division, the amendment was negatived by 165 to 77. Mr. WALPOLE afterwards moved an amendment, the object of which was to establish two Chambers, one nominated by the Crown, the other elected by the Colonists. The amendment was strongly opposed by ministers, who reiterated their former assurance that the Colonists prefer a single Chamber. The house having divided, the original clause was carried by 198 to 147.

In the second week of the session four measures of law reform for Ireland were introduced by Sir JOHN ROMILLY,—the Common Law Process Bill, the object of which is to simplify the system of common law procedure; the Court of Chancery Bill, to abbreviate the proceedings in that endless court; the Registration of Deeds Bill, to amend the system of registration; and the Judgments in Ireland Bill, to prevent

any judgment-creditor from having a lien on the land in future. These instalments of "Justice to Ireland" were received with satisfaction by all parties in the House. A bill has also been introduced, and is now in committee, the object of which is to increase the number of parliamentary voters in Ireland; so that, as far as legislation is concerned, that portion of the United Kingdom appears to be receiving a due share of attention from Parliament. In regard to grants for the relief of distress, Ministers proposed to advance £300,000 to enable the distressed unions to meet their difficulties.

From the Liberal Opposition, Ministers have already received several very hard blows this session, and it begins to seem doubtful whether they will be able to maintain themselves in Downing-street much longer, in the event of any question arising which would cause a temporary union of Radicals and Protectionists.

On Friday, March 15, Sir CHARLES WOOD brought forward the Budget, which was not much calculated to improve the position of Ministers, as it gave satisfaction to no party. From his statement it appeared that there was a surplus of £1,521,410, and this sum he intended to dispose of in the following manner:— In the first place, the duty on bricks would be entirely abolished, and a considerable reduction would be made in the stamp-duties upon the transfer of landed property, and mortgages, under £1000. This would take £750,000, or about one half of the estimated surplus. The remaining half he would apply to the reduction of the national debt. The speech of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER called forth a host of compliments from all parts of the House. No party was satisfied, and the general impression was, that Ministers had thrown away an excellent opportunity of making such a revision of taxation as would have given substantial relief.

By the independent party in the House of Commons several important motions have been made, and have elicited much discussion; on one occasion Ministers were driven to the threat of a resignation to save themselves from a defeat. Mr. HUME brought forward a motion in favour of Parliamentary reform—his lesser charter, comprising the four points of household suffrage (to include lodgers), ballot, re-adjustment of electoral districts, and abolition of the property qualification? He contended that the present time was most opportune for extending the franchise, the working classes being fully employed, and the nation free from alarms. Ministers had strengthened his case, also, by the concession they had made of a reformed franchise in Ireland, and by the correspondence on their proposed constitution for the Cape of Good Hope—the bill of rights for that colony. Sir GEORGE GREY, in opposing the motion, declared his conviction that the passing of such a measure would establish a pure democracy in the House of Commons. Mr. ROEBUCK prayed the Government to dismiss the idle bugbear of universal suffrage, and concede changes to the people before it was too late. Let them not wait till the people had risen in the terrific majesty of mad, armed violence, to enforce them. Characterising the Reform Bill as "a revolution peaceful by chance," he hoped that it was one he would never see repeated. He never wished to see the vessel so near the rocks again. On the other side, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, while he confessed that he did not hold to the ten-pound qualification as a limit (having given up the doctrine of finality), was still of opinion that the present time was not well adapted for organic changes. In allusion to Mr. Roebuck's warning, that it was unadvisable to wait for a storm before you put to sea, he would say that, "if you leave your anchor in a perfect calm, you may be drifted against the rocks." The result of the division was not very promising for reform:—

For Mr. Hume's motion.....	96
Against.....	242

Majority against..... 146

On the motion for going into a Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates, Mr. COBDEN moved a series of resolutions in favour of a reduction of the national expenditure. In doing so, he disclaimed all hostility to Ministers, and repudiated the idea of moving a vote of want of confidence. He also disclaimed any sudden restoration of the expenditure of 1835 as the standard; the expenditure might be gradually reduced, and he would be content with the average of 1835, '6, and '7. Under the pressure of the Financial Reform Movement, the expenditure had been reduced by £3,344,000, in 1849, and this year he believed there would be a further reduction of £1,000,000, but there was still a net excess of £5,500,000 over the expenditure of 1835. He then went over the various heads of the expenditure, showing where reductions might be made—pensions suffered to lapse, embassies suppressed, and other measures of economy. But the chief excess of expenditure was under the naval and military heads, and it was here, therefore, that the principal saving might be effected. The experience of the last two years proved plainly that there was no disposition on the part of the people of any nation to pass their own frontiers, and make war upon any other nation. As

regarded the colonies, Lord John Russell had gone as far as any one in admitting the right of self-government, with self-taxation and self-defence. On these grounds, therefore, he thought it possible to make a large reduction of our forces. In his opinion, it was quite possible to reduce the total expenditure to the extent of £10,000,000. He concluded by moving resolutions setting forth the increase of expenditure since 1835: the absence of danger abroad, or civil necessity at home to warrant the increase; the effect of taxation in burdening the people, in checking employment, and fostering pauperism and crime; wherefore—"It is expedient that this House take steps to reduce the annual expenditure, with all practicable speed, to an amount not exceeding the sum which, within the last fifteen years, has been proved to be sufficient for the maintenance of the security, honour, and dignity of the nation." Mr. LABOUCHERE endeavoured to show that the apparent increase of £6,000,000 in expenditure had not been caused by a real augmentation. In the naval and military expenditure rather more than £4,000,000 of the apparent increase was traced to the accumulated excess of expenditure left from former years to the transfer of the packet service, formerly paid out of the Post-office revenue, the construction of dockyards, the building of the new Houses of Parliament, and various other charges forced upon Government by the House. The debate was kept up by Mr. MILNER GIBSON, Mr. HUME, and Mr. SPOONER, in favour of the motion; and by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr. HERRIES, and Mr. HENLEY, against it. On a division Mr. Cobden's amendment was negatived by 272 to 89.

The annual motion in favour of vote by ballot was brought forward by Mr. HENRY BERKELEY on the 7th of March; but the discussion, which was brief, presented no new feature. Mr. JOHN BRIGHT, Mr. MILNER GIBSON, Mr. HUME, Mr. JOHN WILLIAMS, and Mr. MUNTZ, spoke in favour of the motion; Mr. HEALD, Mr. MASTERMAN, and Colonel SIBTHORP, against it. The House having divided, the numbers were:—

For the motion	121
Against	176

Majority against..... 55

None of these debates or divisions, however, inflicted any material damage upon ministers. The first severe blow which they received was through Mr. HUTT's motion to abandon the slave-trade treaties which stand in the way of recalling the African blockade squadron. It was clearly proved, in the course of the debate, that the evils of the slave-trade have become greatly aggravated in proportion as the measures for its suppression have become more stringent. In order to prove that the system of armed repression was utterly condemned by those who had done most for the suppression of the slave-trade, Mr. HUTT referred to the proceedings at the great assembly in Exeter-hall, in 1840, Prince Albert presiding, when the following resolution was adopted:—

"The utter failure of every attempt by treaty, by remonstrance, and by naval armaments, to arrest the progress of the slave trade, proves the necessity of resorting to a preventive policy founded on different and higher principles."

This resolution was moved by the late Sir Fowell Buxton, and was passed at a meeting attended by Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and a whole host of those who had ever been the most active abolitionists. Mr. LABOUCHERE, Mr. CARDWELL, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Colonel THOMPSON, and Sir ROBERT INGLIS opposed the motion, but their speeches contained very little in the shape of argument. The division, however, showed that the House was not prepared to act up to its convictions. The numbers were:—

For Mr. Hutt's motion	154
Against	232

Ministerial majority..... 78

Two causes combined to give ministers this false show of strength. In the first place, many of those who voted against the motion did so against their own belief, to prevent ministers from being beaten. Lord JOHN RUSSELL had called a meeting of ministerial members previously to the debate, and told them that if Mr. HUTT's motion were carried he and his colleagues would resign. By means of this threat, and by alarming timid members with the prospect of a probable dissolution of Parliament, ministers succeeded in obtaining a majority which they could not have had otherwise. As another means of securing temporary victory, the device was adopted of spreading a rumour that the debate would be adjourned till another day, and then bringing on the division unexpectedly. It was thus that ministers contrived to stave off the most serious assault on their position as they had made it for themselves.

The House of Lords adjourned on Monday, for the Easter recess, until Tuesday, April 9. The House of Commons adjourned on Tuesday, until Monday the 8th of April.

BUSINESS AFTER EASTER.

April 9. Lord Duncan—Motion to repeal the Window-tax.

- April 10. Committee on Public Libraries and Museums.
- Second reading of County Rates Bill.
- 11. Committee on Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Bill.
- 12. Committee on Australian Colonies Government Bill; notices of amendment by Sir Wm. Molesworth and Mr. Gladstone.
- Lord John Russell—Motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the Salaries and Emoluments of Offices held during the pleasure of the Crown.
- 16. Mr. Milner Gibson—Motion for the abolition of the Stamp on Newspapers, the Excise-tax on Paper, the Tax upon Advertisements, and the Duty on Foreign Books.
- Mr. Slaney—Motion for Committee to inquire into the best mode of giving facilities to safe investment for the savings of the middle and working classes.
- Mr. Cayley—Motion for Repeal of the Malt-tax.
- 17. Education Bill, second reading.
- 18. Committee on Factories Bill.
- 23. Mr. Heywood—Motion for inquiry with a view to University Reform.
- Mr. Ewart—Bill to abolish the Punishment of Death.
- Mr. Disraeli—Diplomatic and Consular Reform.
- Mr. Grantley Berkeley—Resolution in favour of an 8s. duty on Foreign Wheat.
- Mr. Grantley Berkeley—Resolution to exclude slave-labour produce from our markets.
- Mr. Ewart—Repeal of the Advertisement Duty.
- 30. Mr. Henley—Revision of Salaries, with a view to their reduction.
- Mr. Cobden—An Address to the Queen praying her Majesty to direct the Foreign Secretary to negotiate with France and other powers for a mutual reduction of warlike armaments.

DATES NOT FIXED.

- Lord Ashley—Address to the Queen on Post-office labour on Sundays.
- Mr. Wodehouse—The Land-tax.
- Mr. Charteris—To call attention to the recent sale of a picture believed to be the work of Raffaele.
- Mr. Osborne—The abolition of the Property Qualifications.
- Mr. Poulett Scrope—Bill to Check Depopulation in Ireland.
- Lord Robert Grosvenor—Metropolitan Water Supply.
- Mr. Feargus O'Connor—Bill to wind up the affairs of the National Land Company.
- Sir Edward Buxton—Resolutions against exposing British Plantation Sugar to competition with the sugar of foreign slave-holding and slave-trading countries.

PROTECTIONIST MEETINGS.

SEVERAL meetings of landlords and farmers have been held during the past week for the purpose of protesting against free trade, and complaining of agricultural distress; but none of them seem yet prepared to recommend any decided or definite line of policy. On Thursday week a numerous meeting was held at the King's Head, Epsom, where Mr. Paul Fosskett appears to have been the principal orator. He laid great stress upon a scheme, to which he referred, for making the borough towns understand that the agriculturists of England are, beyond measure, their best customers. As an instance of what ought to be done, he referred to the meeting at Hereford, where the farmers had adopted a low tariff for tradesmen's bills:—

"Take care," said he, "to use the strictest economy in everything; button up your breeches' pockets, save the little there is left. I regret to hear that hundreds of farmers will no longer pay taxes. I give you no such advice, and will still endeavour to act constitutionally, although I am well aware there is a limit to endurance. I think you act wisely in putting off the payment of taxes as long as you can. There is nothing illegal in that; but to refuse altogether is following too much the violent expedients of our unscrupulous opponents. * * * Again, look at the tithe question. How long do you suppose men will be found to pay tithes at 56s. when the average price of wheat is 38s.? I wish the church to have the amplest revenue; but in order to obtain it her ministers must make common cause with a suffering people to regain protection." * * * He had just returned from the midland counties, where he had been specially required to attend meetings on this subject, and he found that the farmers throughout those counties would now be compelled, much against their will, to reduce the labourers' wages. That is a very serious matter in the present but half-enlightened state of the public mind; who could tell to what excesses the starving population might not be driven by a reduction in the amount of wages, equal to the reduction in the value of agricultural produce. If the wretched policy of the Manchester school were suffered to continue, a revolution of poverty against property would be the ultimate consequence. "Our only hope to save the country is in an immediate dissolution of a House of Commons pledged to our destruction; and in order that we may accomplish this great object, I have the pleasure of announcing to you that on the 6th of May this year a great meeting will be held in London, at the South Sea-house, to consist of the representatives or delegates of every district through England. Many are already appointed; those for Sussex have been named, and Kent is nobly doing its duty."

It was stated by another speaker that the meeting at the South Sea-house would represent all the interests of the country, "embracing the shipping, the agricultural, and other classes."

At Dorking and Godstone meetings were held on Friday to memorialise the Queen, praying her to dissolve the present Parliament; and on Saturday a meeting was held at Croydon for the same object. At the Godstone meeting Mr. Page said, "the poor were fast sinking into a state of semi-barbarism; for it was impossible that the farmers could pay them, and they were sinking faster into a state of degradation. Had her Majesty looked out of her palace windows on Saturday last, she would have seen three incendiary fires, and was that looking like being better off." At the same meeting a Mr. Perry, who

is described as "an old-fashioned, respectable-looking kind of farmer, with a sort of modernized smockfrock," made some very strong remarks on agricultural distress and the parliamentary misrepresentatives of the rural interest:—

"Now, I will tell you what," said Mr. Perry (and here his energy increased), "if anything is a curse to England and will make a man's blood boil, it is to see a poor man who wants to earn his bread going about begging for a job of work. (*Loud cries of "bravo," and cheers.*) I say, would not your blood get hot and curdle almost if you had wives and children crying at home because you could not get them bread? (*Hear and cheers.*) But there we go on grumbling and do not do anything. Why do you not do as the Americans did when they were oppressed, and say, 'We won't have it!' (*Loud cheers.*) The Scriptures tell us, 'We are to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' and I am sure it is good to uphold the cause of the poor. And I say it is a most disgraceful thing when a poor man cannot get his living by the sweat of his brow. (*Cheers.*) I do not think we are at all well represented. We have a lot of gentlemen with fine coats sitting in the House, and who are born with a silver spoon in their mouths. (*Laughter.*) Now I should like to see some men in the House who have earned their living, and who know what the value of money is—(*loud cheers*)—which they do not at all. (*Renewed cheers.*) But I tell you what—if you do not look to support the sons of toil, England will fall. Our governors, as they call themselves, talk about our condition, and that is all they do. Perhaps I am going too far?—('No, no; go on.') But I should like to speak about the poor rates;" and in speaking about them he said—"Now, I will tell you how it is in our parish. Tatsfield, where I live, is a small parish, and we have only four ratepayers; and last year we had to pay £143 for establishment charges, and £33 for the relief of the poor. (*Loud cries of "shame, shame," "disgraceful."*) I am one of the guardians, and I have been to the commissioners and have explained all about it; but now, we would not make a poor rate, and they are going to put in a distress upon the overseer. (*Shame, shame.*) Now, I say, if anything will bring about a revolution, it is such things as these. First people get discontented, and then they go on and get disaffected, until at last they break out."

At Pontefract a meeting was held on Saturday, at which Mr. Busfield Ferrand made one of his most truculent speeches. On this occasion Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden were the chief objects of his vituperation. "Sir Robert Peel," said Mr. Ferrand, "says he hopes never to live to see protection restored; I tell you that his life is in your hands if you choose. If you will follow my advice, farmers of Great Britain and Ireland, in two years you will see protection restored." The advice to which he referred was, that the farmers of the United Kingdom should lay their heads together and "enter into a wool league, and vow they will never again wear cotton if they can be provided with woollen or linen goods." If they would only follow up that scheme "in two years the cotton-spinners of Lancashire would be forced to compound." Ministers might laugh at such a scheme, but it was no laughing matter:—

"Perhaps when Lord John Russell hears of this determination he may scout it and turn it into ridicule. I warn him, that the Duke of Bedford put down the hair-tax in England by wearing cropped hair, when hair-powder was almost as generally worn as cotton is now. In France they scarcely manufacture cotton at all. Woollen lace is now chiefly worn in Paris. Light woollen fabrics are used by them for summer dresses and for curtains, and heavier woollen goods for winter wear. Some few months ago an announcement came from America that there was to be a short crop of cotton; that raised your wool 3d. per lb. Let 200 meetings of farmers take place throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and let them pledge themselves to form a wool league, and before next clipping-time the price will be raised a further 6d. per lb. When you employ your labourers now throughout Great Britain and Ireland, let the cry be "Wool for ever—you shall wear no cotton;" and encourage tradesmen who scout cotton, who do not allow it to enter into their shops. What farmer of you who farms 100 acres of land would wear a cotton shirt if he were told he should pay £100 a year for wearing it? Why, as soon would I wear a perpetual blister as a cotton shirt."

After denouncing Mr. Monckton Milnes, the member for Pontefract, as having betrayed the cause of protection, Mr. Ferrand went on to abuse Ministers. "The qualification of the Premier of England now was that he should have a cotton soul." Everything was viewed in relation to the cotton-manufacturing interest. As for the Lancashire cotton-spinners, Mr. Ferrand out-Herods Mrs. Trollope in his caricature of them:—

"What are these men? They are men who turn their counting-houses into their church; their ledger is their Bible, and their money is their god. They are men who spin slave-grown cotton, they insist upon sweetening their tea with slave-grown sugar, they daub their calicoes to defraud the public with slave-grown flour-paste, they work their women factory slaves fifteen hours a day, in an atmosphere more destructive to human life than the climate of Sierra Leone; they are only prevented from working little children to death by a stringent act of Parliament. They are themselves slaves of the devil, and during the last seventy years the cotton trade of the country has destroyed ten times more human beings in England than the cholera has destroyed in the whole of Europe."

At the close of the meeting three cheers were given for the chairman, and three for Mr. Ferrand.

At the Crown Inn, Chertsey, a meeting of farmers and others was held, to memorialise her Majesty to dissolve Parliament and dismiss Ministers. On the same day a Protectionist meeting was held at Romford, in Essex, at which the principal speaker was Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK YOUNG. He condemned Mr. Disraeli's mode of warfare as not calculated to promote the cause of protection:—"Their only hope was in a dissolution of the Parliament, and the election of another that would truly represent the great industrial interests of the country. They might depend upon it that that doctrine would make its way. There would be a dissolution, and the period was not remote when the present Ministry must be driven from their places." In order to be prepared for such a crisis, he advised them to form country associations, and to have candidates ready on whom they could depend. By adopting this plan they would be able to make their numbers and influence tell at the right time. Having agreed to form a Protective Association, the meeting separated.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM MOVEMENT.

The Parliamentary Reformers have held meetings at Lancaster on Monday, at Maidstone on Tuesday, and at Limehouse on Wednesday. At the Lancaster meeting, "one of the largest ever held in Lancaster," Mr. J. Baxter Langley and the Reverend T. Fleming were elected delegates to the Reform Conference to be held next month in London. At the Limehouse meeting, the chairman, Dr. Bowkett, took occasion to declare himself an advocate of the Charter, though also a member of the National Reform Association. "When the fitting time came he should be as ready to devote himself to the extension of the suffrage until it should become universal, as at present to advocate the point which he believed to be likely of attainment." Resolutions were passed, asserting the necessity of a general agitation on the question of Parliamentary Reform, "with a view to an early and universal expression of public opinion;" approving of the plans of the National Association, especially of the intended Conference; and recommending prompt and liberal assistance, by meetings and resolutions, by "the formation of committees, the employment of local agents, and the contribution of funds."

LEEDS REDEMPTION SOCIETY.

An aggregate meeting of the Redemption Society was held in the Stock Exchange, Albion-street, Leeds, on Thursday evening, the 21st inst. The Reverend Edmund Larken, rector of Burton, near Lincoln, had engaged to occupy the chair on the occasion, but was prevented by severe illness in his family. His letter explaining that fact, however, cheered the society in its endeavours:—

"Important events are every day bringing their influence to bear on the progress of associative effort. It is impossible to see the altered tone of the public organs on this great subject (both in England and on the Continent), without being convinced that society is advancing surely, and, perhaps, not slowly, towards that great change which we have laboured so long to bring about. We have only, I feel assured, need to persevere determinedly and soberly, as your society is doing, and we shall ourselves, with God's blessing, see the fruit of our exertions in a happy, enlightened, moral, and religious people."

Mr. J. HOLE, secretary to the West Riding Mechanics' Institutes, presided. In the newspapers, he said, communism had been represented as a mere chimera, as a theory put forth by Fourier, St. Simon, and others:—

"Those who thought that English Socialism had any such origin were very much mistaken. Two or three influences which had been in active operation in France had caused the principles of socialism to be better known and understood amongst the working classes of Paris than they are known and understood in England. The English have long had a poor-law, and even Queen Elizabeth did not know the advantage of allowing poor people to die for want of food. In France there was no such provision; thousands of men there, finding themselves deprived of the means of sustenance, thought they might as well die behind barricades as die of hunger. Also there is the extremely minute division of landed property in France. By the French law of 1789, the land was compulsorily divided; that principle had now been acting for half a century, and the result of it is, that, on an average, each peasant proprietor has twenty small parcels of land. On these scattered fragments it is impossible to rear flocks, keep horses, and to employ the means and appliances of scientific agriculture; it is, in fact, the carrying out of the principle which had been proposed as a remedy for the evils of England, namely, the allotment system. It is quite true that, if the working man can make a living on his allotment, he is not in so bad a position as the factory worker, who, when he falls out of work, does not know when he may fall in again; but certainly this system should not be set before the people as a state of things near to perfection. Along with the land they should have machinery, improved modes of cultivation, and the advantages of the most advanced art and civilization. Dr. Johnson has remarked that there are two sorts of levellers—one who want to level down to themselves,

and the other who seek to level up to themselves. The Redemption Society belong to the latter class. Their object is not to take wealth from other men; but by the exercise of economy, intelligence, and industry, to acquire property for themselves. Nor did they intend or desire to disturb the true distinctions of nature. A man willing to work ought to have sufficient to eat as well as be enabled to enjoy the arts and refinements of life. The Redemption Society do not meddle with theology; their object is simply an economical one. It has been calculated that out of twelve hours labour the working man only gets the result of three or four hours; the remainder goes to the landholder and the capitalist; and, as both land and capital are necessary to production, the object of the society is to secure the possession of both land and capital to the working classes themselves, in order that they may enjoy the full reward of their toil."

Mr. GREEN (president of the society) explained that the Redemption Society is communistic in its principles. Its possessions are public property as contradistinguished from private property; all its members are joint capitalists. The principle of Communism, to some extent, is carried out in every town:—

"Our markets and public buildings are all public property; they are supported on the communal principle. A community consists of a family of families; and their object is to build up a society of such families. The Redemption Society was enrolled under the act of Parliament for the security and protection of friendly societies—it has a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, five directors, and two auditors. These officers meet every Monday night at the rooms of the society, in Lambert's-yard, Briggate. Their duties are, to examine the accounts of the society, to receive the collecting books from the collectors, and to see that the books are correct. The money which has been collected is afterwards invested in the savings-bank. The president cannot withdraw money from the bank; the trustees alone can withdraw money; and no money can be withdrawn without a written order from the president and the secretary. The entrance fee is sixpence, which includes the price of the rules and acts of Parliament relating to the society. When a candidate has paid a subscription of a penny per week for six months, he becomes a co-proprietor, and has the right to vote and exercise the powers of the society. Donors have no right of voting; but if the society be in want of labourers on their estate, they may be elected to serve as such if the members of the society think proper. To collect funds all the members are visited by collectors once a week; their subscriptions are entered, and at the next meeting of the society paid in, and reported to the parties present. The society has collecting districts in various parts of the country—in Halifax, London, Sunderland, &c. On the society's estate in Wales the people all labour, and no loss is incurred there. The rules render it impossible for the society to get into debt; and, if the board of management contract any debt on behalf of the society, their own goods are liable to be distrained for the amount, so rigid are the laws protecting the funds. The estate of the society in South Wales was given by a Mr. Williams. It consists of about 160 acres of good land. There is a mortgage upon it of £1200. The society are now endeavouring to raise £200 to expend upon the improvement of the land, and the introduction of manufactures; and they hope to be enabled to proceed to the erection of members' houses and a school-room. From the prosecution of their general objects they would never rest till it was accomplished. He had no fears as to the means being ultimately forthcoming; the society could never get into debt; it was always getting richer, and it must ultimately gain the confidence and respect of the working classes. Members had the best assurance that their money would be properly applied, that no one would be supported in idleness and luxury by it, but that every penny would go towards the establishment of a system which was calculated to renovate society. Instead of raising money for strikes, he hoped that in future the working men would support the Redemption Society. By investing their money in it they not only secured employment to themselves, but secured the whole produce of their labour, and rendered themselves independent of the present oppressive and depressing system under which they were suffering."

In reply to a question proposed by various parties Mr. Green stated that cards of membership are not transferable; that moneys paid to the society cannot be returned in the shape of money, but go to create a great capital for the purpose of establishing communities, from which the outside, or non-elected, members will receive benefit in the shape of articles of a superior and cheaper manufacture; that the society will go on till all its members are located in these communities, and are thus completely exempted from the possibility of want or crime. The society cannot be broken up till such be the wish of five-sixths of its members; if it should be broken up the funds will be divided amongst all the members. The "recreation-money" was to enable the elected members to enjoy the means of visiting their friends, or to spend in any other way for their own amusement or profit.

Dr. F. R. LEES, in answer to the question—"Is it intended that all the members of the society are to be put upon a level?"—observed that, so far as the laws of the society are concerned, they not only proclaimed fraternity, but absolute social equality.

"We say no man has a right to property except upon the principle that he has a right to live. If he has a right to live, he has a right to labour as a means of procuring those things necessary to the supply of his wants;

and if a right to labour, of necessity a right to the common platform upon which all labour is performed, and to the common material produced. We rise up as communists, with this great protest—Things as they now are, are not natural, but unnatural. The cause of the evil is in ourselves,—it is in the spirit of selfishness which is abroad; but as we see the source of the evils that afflict us—believing in the harmony of man with Nature and of both with God—we set to work with earnest hope and determined hearts to produce a great and glorious reconciliation.”

Other questions were put by the audience, and answered by the chairman, Mr. Green, and Dr. Lee. Several persons then enrolled themselves members of the society.

THE TAILORS' SWEATING SYSTEM.

A meeting of the metropolitan tailors was held on Thursday at the London Tavern, Alderman Sidney, M.P., in the chair,—in order to call attention to the evils engendered by the slop, sweating, and middlemen system, to consider the unjust practice of Government with regard to contracts and prison labour, and to petition Parliament to grant a committee to inquire into the condition of London operative tailors.

In moving the first resolution, Mr. Charles Goodfellow accused the Government of originating the slop-system by the miserable prices that it paid for contracts. Formerly 7s. was paid for an army blue coat; it was now brought down to 3s. Under such a system the tradesman had no chance. The speaker also, referring to the system of middlemen, condemned Mr. Sheriff Nicoll, “who had been placed in a position reserved for the most worthy citizens,” because he did not give an example to others by putting a stop to this evil in his own establishment. Mr. Nicoll had engaged to dismiss his sweater, “but the fact was he was now the sweater himself and got the profits which his sweater enjoyed before. He wished to God they would pin to the back of each of the celebrated ‘paletots’ an account of the sufferings undergone in the manufacture of them, and gentlemen would be ashamed to wear them.”

Concurring in the resolution, Mr. T. Smith took occasion to comment on “a disposition” in meetings like the present to underrate the intrinsic value of principles which were evil only in their abuse:—

“For instance, at a meeting of tailors in Manchester it was resolved, ‘That the system of competition is unjust in principle and immoral in its tendency.’ Now, he thought such a proposition, stated as it was in the abstract, most injurious and false. But yet these Manchester men had acted more wisely than by going to Parliament for relief. A few of them united together with a capital of 7s. 6d., which they gradually raised to between £50 and £60; with this fund they purchased materials and gave employment to those of their trade who were out of work. They gave 6d. for making a shirt, a very small sum, it might be said, but still it was double what was given in the trade. He exhorted them to form associations of a similar kind among themselves. All our national trade, all the great London companies are founded on this basis, and if those he addressed had not the money capital with which these companies started, they had capital of another kind, and not less real—that of labour.”

The resolutions deplored the wide spread of destitution, misery, and crime engendered by the slop system, a system ruinous to the honest tradesmen, and, through its consequences, conveying disease and death to all classes; called upon the clergy to exert their influence in ameliorating the condition of the operatives, specially by discouraging home-working; and expressed the conviction of the meeting that there is no means of effectually dealing with an evil of such magnitude but by a law compelling “all employers to have their work done on their own premises.” A petition was agreed to, embodying the sense of the resolutions.

BANQUET TO LORD GOUGH.

The Chairman and Directors of the East India Company entertained Lord Gough at the London Tavern, on Saturday, on occasion of his return from commanding their armies in India. The chair was filled by Major-General Sir Alexander Galloway, K.C.B., Chairman of the Company. Among the guests present were the Marquis of Westminster, the Marquis of Breadalbane, Earl Grey, Lord John Russell, Viscount Hardinge, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, the Solicitor-General, the Lord Mayor, Mr. Sheil, and Major Edwardes. After the usual toasts the Chairman proposed the health of Lord Gough, “a soldier who has commanded, has fought, and has conquered, in more battles than any General who has ever been in Asia:”—

“Full thirty times and more has Lord Gough fought for his country in many of our bravest battles. I believe there are few names entered there by the illustrious chief who was the unconscious historian of his own greatness which are better known than that of my Lord Gough and of his gallant Eighty-seventh—the captors of the first eagle and the first banner of France. (*Loud cheering.*) My Lord Gough, in the name of the East India Company, I have the highest gratification in expressing to you the cordial acknowledgments of the eminent services which you have rendered to them. In their name, I welcome you heartily to your native land.”

After Lord Gough's reply, and the toasts of “The Army and Navy,” Lord John Russell replied to the health of her Majesty's Ministers, observing, with reference to the hero of the evening, that “when the necessity of war has to be encountered he who crowns the arms of his country with brilliant victories is then a man who is a true lover of peace.” The sentiment was echoed by Sir Robert Peel:—

“Within forty-eight hours he had been called on to return thanks for the House of Commons on an occasion solely connected with the cultivation of the arts of peace. I am now to return thanks for the House of Commons on an occasion when we are commemorating splendid military exploits. The two objects are perfectly reconcilable.” Sir Robert Peel concluded by referring to Lord Gough's return to his native Ireland, and expressed a hope that his admiring countrymen would “see in him a proof that the widest scope for the exertion of Irish valour, and for the exhibition of Irish talent, lies in their co-operation with this country—(*great cheering*)—in identity of feeling with us in our disasters, if we should incur disasters,—in identity of rejoicing in our victories,—in the participation of a common fate in our common country,—in the union of two great nations.” (*Veheement and continued cheering.*)

On leaving the tavern Lord Gough and Major Edwardes were recognised, and loudly cheered by the crowd at the door.

FRENCH LAWS AGAINST THE PRESS.

While in England endeavours are made for the removal of the restrictions upon the press, in Portugal and France new laws of repression are demanded by the Governments. In Portugal the new project of law in derogation of the charter would restrict the right of printing to those who can deposit £2000 as caution-money. France would retrograde even beyond Portugal. The bill brought forward by the Ministry of Prince Louis Napoleon fixes the newspaper caution-money at 50,000 francs for the departments of the Seine, the Seine and Oise, the Seine and Marne, and the Rhone, and at 12,000 francs for the other departments. The stamp-duty is to be four centimes for the above-named departments and two for the remainder; and the hawking of all addresses and papers at the elections, excepting lists of candidates, is forbidden. This law against the press has roused the opposition of even the most “Moderate” journals, tending as it does to the ruin of a great number of them. But, in addition to this law, the Ministry, in providing for the continuing of the law of June, 1849, which interdicts clubs and other public meetings, would extend the scope of the act to electoral meetings. The double measure bears the mark of reaction, whether fearful or angry, against the Socialist triumph in the late elections in Paris. An analysis of the speeches for and against the two laws in the standing committees of the Assembly on Saturday will not be without interest.

M. LAMARTINE said that he was not one to oppose systematically a young Government placed in a difficult position. He did not attribute to the Ministers any intention of violating the constitution. He believed their idea was to protect society against the evils which menaced it. But the evil of which they complained was after all a sort of dream, a nightmare, a momentary madness; limited, and pretending to effect with few words the work of ages. The source of that radical Socialism in a certain portion (less numerous than was supposed) of the population was ignorance, for which the proper remedy was discussion, whose channel was the press—was journalism. Such a ruinous amount of caution-money and stamp-duty only created pecuniary privileges, dangerous and unjust. Such laws had always failed. As to the law on the clubs, he had always been opposed to the permanent existence of clubs as incompatible with any Government except in a period of revolution. No people, and least of all the French, could support such an institution without being every three months exposed to sedition and convulsion. A choice must be made between the Republic and the clubs, and he preferred a Republic of order. He advocated the liberty of electoral meetings, but a liberty organized and limited by the authorities; though he would not leave the matter to the discretion of a Prefect. The constant presence of the police at these meetings was a violation of the freedom of universal suffrage.

General CAVAIGNAC had under painful circumstances (though they were less menacing than those in which he himself had been previously placed) voted for the suppression of the clubs, and had not opposed the most severe laws on the press. This he mentioned to show that he belonged to a conscientious and consistent party, who considered that society when menaced had a right to defend itself. He did not, however, see in the present state of things any necessity to aggravate a repressive legislation. He regretted that these laws should be the Government's answer to a constitutional manifestation of universal suffrage. In universal suffrage the Government ought and could establish its own strength.

M. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE reprobated the constant Governmental practice of branding every sort of opposition as “enemies of society;” and justified the union of all shades of Republicanism by the example of the Royalists. He considered the present laws as a defiance to public opinion, consequent upon the late elections. They would not attain their object; they would only ruin three or four opposition journals, and impart more force and importance to the survivors.

M. BAROCHE (Minister of the Interior) referred to the excesses which followed the allowance of liberty of thought after the revolution of February, requiring re-

pression even from the Provisional Government. He only followed their example and the example of General Cavaignac. The present danger was most serious. The licence of the press was beyond all bounds, and the evil was on the increase. The adversaries of the laws were not logical: for they admitted the danger but offered no sort of remedy. Society could not save itself, it must be aided. The bills were not suggested by a “rancorous feeling.” The provincial press was unanimous in describing the alarm following the elections of the 10th of March. Mercantile speculations had been suspended, and orders withdrawn. The Government was firmly convinced that the press continued and excited this alarm. Universal suffrage in Paris had been falsified, had been menaced by the bad portion of the press, which dictated to the masses of the people like an autocrat. The deposit-money alone was not sufficient to remedy this evil. Confidence and conciliation had been tried, and had failed; the evil must be attacked boldly.

M. DE LA ROCHEJAQUELIN maintained that to act so precipitately against the press showed that no advantage had been derived from the repression of the revolutions of July and February. The press could not be touched without rendering its organs unanimous. Under the Restoration the laws on the press changed the opinions even of journals which till then had supported the Government. The high caution-money would ruin many journals which now supported order, as well as some whose very excesses rendered them less dangerous than others. He thought the best plan would be to make the principal editor of a journal responsible, and to compel him to sign the articles in his paper. He was opposed to the increase of caution-money, but reserved the question of the stamp-duty.

M. GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT was disposed to vote against the projects as inefficient, and indirectly an attack upon universal suffrage, which had not produced all the evil supposed, but had, on the contrary, evinced a tendency to moderation. Of 30 elections 10 were good; so there was no motive for alarm. The Moderate journals attacked the constitution under the allowance of Government.

M. PIERRE LEROUX denounced the law as detestable and inquisitorial, and the stamp-duty as unconstitutional. He complained of the violations of domicile, private letters, and property, lately practised. If the present law should be voted, even M. Thiers' “History of the Revolution” could not be published in periodical parts. Journals and journalists were not alone the objects of this persecution, but the instruction of the people, who wished to have books cheap.

M. VICTOR HUGO did not believe the so-much-talked-of danger existed. The elections of the 10th of March were not aggressive or violent. They were merely a protest by which the Government might profit, which it was imprudent to answer by laws suggested by anger. Such laws, instead of warding off the danger, would only render it inevitable.

M. PARIEU (Minister of Public Instruction) did not see in the elections the great lesson which should command the Government and the Assembly to change their policy. He did not see the triple protest, mentioned by M. Hugo, against the refusal of amnesty illustrated in the person of M. de Flotte, the necessity of social reform according to M. Vidal, nor of the sort of public instruction advocated in the circulars of M. Carnot. Socialist ideas threatened to convulse the country, were trying to gain ground, and it was necessary to arrest them. Their object should be to prevent universal suffrage from being led astray by anti-social doctrines. The intention was not to interfere with universal suffrage, but to prevent its being falsified, and to relieve it from an immoral pressure.

M. MOLE denied that these were laws of vengeance. The law sought to protect society, not to punish it. The press ought to be considered, in a double view, as a lucrative commerce, which ought to contribute its share to the charges of the state, and as an immense power existing independently of public institutions, which should be comprised in the general law. The law allowed the Government to watch over political and electoral meetings, even to suppress them if necessary. The very tribune of the National Assembly was guaranteed from excesses by repressive measures contained in its own rules. The daily press was merely a tribune of another sort existing in each house; wherefore it flattered men's opinions and passions, and thence derived its success or fortune. This constant action destroyed the free will of man. However persons might at first resist its influence, they were, sooner or later, imperceptibly led to believe in the daily declamations of their journals. He denied an intention to annihilate the press. Governments had fallen not in consequence of enforcing such laws, but from a complication of faults and weaknesses, in spite of such laws. The deposit-money was the security for fines; experience showed the present amount to be insufficient. He thought the stamp-duty the more political object of the law. It restrained the action of the press by diminishing its means of propagandism. He was disposed to vote for the stamp for this reason, and also looking at it as a means of revenue preferable to many others.

M. THIERS accepted and supported the laws. They would not prevent journalists from saying all they wished to say. No law on earth could do that, not even a censorship. But the present laws would render more difficult the circulation of bad publications, of detestable productions against society; for instance, those which proclaimed that the Great Book of the State should be burned and the Bank pillaged. These laws alone were not sufficient to save society; but no physician was satisfied with one remedy. It was absurd to say that the laws of September had not saved the Monarchy of July. Those laws had produced a good effect against the Republican party; they had reduced it to impotence. It was owing to other faults and causes, not immediately to be indicated, that the Monarchy had fallen.

HINTS OF MONARCHY IN FRANCE.

In the French Assembly, on the 26th, at the close of the discussion of the budget, M. De la Rochejaquelein having laid a proposition on the table, M. Dupin, the president, rose under some embarrassment, and stated that though the regulations of the Assembly placed no limits upon the right to make propositions, yet that it was possible some proposition might be presented which, from its eccentric character or illegality might compromise the President if he should allow it to be printed without first consulting the Assembly. (*Sensation.*) If the author of the proposition before him wished to withdraw it, the question would be at an end. (Exclamations on the left.) If the contrary case, what was his object in making it?

After considerable confusion and several interruptions, M. CREMIEUX, who had ascended the tribune, said:—

"It would really seem, from what is now passing here, that the destiny of France is at the mercy of any one that may choose to compromise it. But who could exercise influence over the destinies of France? (Noise on the left.) I move that the proposition be read, and then, afterwards, we can see what we shall have to do.

"The PRESIDENT: I proceed to consult the Assembly.
"Numerous Voices: No, no! the previous question! the previous question!"

"The PRESIDENT: I cannot take upon myself the responsibility of reading this proposition. I must take the opinion of the Assembly on that point."

The Assembly having decided, by a small majority, that it should be read (the whole of the Left voting for that course), the President proceeded to read the proposition.

"Art. 1. The nation shall be consulted on the form of Government which it will definitively constitute. (Agitation.) For that purpose on the first Sunday of — a ballot shall be opened, similar to that which took place on the election of the President of the Republic, taking, however, into account the changes effected in the electoral circumscriptions.

"Art. 2. Each elector shall mark down on his bulletin one of these two words:—REPUBLIC or MONARCHY.

"Art. 3. If the Republic shall obtain the majority, the result shall be proclaimed from the tribune of the National Assembly by the President of the Republic.

"Art. 4. If the monarchy shall obtain the majority, the result shall be proclaimed—"
A Voice: "By Henry V." The President continuing: "By the President of the Legislative Assembly. (*Great laughter.*) In this latter case, a Constituent Assembly shall be elected on the 1st of July, 1850, by universal suffrage, to regulate the forms of the new Government. The President of the Republic shall continue in office until the Constituent Assembly shall have met."

A deputy exclaimed: "The proposition ought to be brought forward on the 1st of April!"

From all sides: "The previous question!"

The President: "The previous question is applied for."—"Yes, yes!"

M. Léo de Laborde hurried towards the tribune.

At that moment the Assembly, being consulted by the President, rose *en masse* in favour of the previous question.

M. Léo de Laborde turned back to his seat.

On the counter-vote, not one Representative stood up against the previous question.

From the Mountain rose, the moment after, a cry of "Vive la République!"

M. Dupin then tore the paper, and the Assembly separated.

In commenting upon the debate M. Proudhon blames the Left for want of tact in not permitting the proposition to be debated, and charges the Right with cowardice in "shrinking from the public expression of their secret thoughts." "Let their journals now no more talk about royalty. The Royalists themselves feel that the Republic needs not to be put to the vote."

THE ERFURT PARLIAMENT.

The King of Prussia's German Parliament was opened at Erfurt, on the 20th of March. It consists of two Chambers, elected by the States and by some very small fraction of the people, and is intended to supply the place of the defunct Frankfort Assembly in giving a constitution to Germany, and laying the foundation of national unity. The States agreeing with Prussia in the formation of this Parliament are, however, only the smaller principalities, excepting even from among them Holstein-Lauenburg, Austria and Bavaria continue opposed; Hanover, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, have seceded; Hesse-Cassel and Baden adhere but doubtfully.

The proceedings of the day were opened by the Erfurt Sängerbund, which volunteered a procession through the snow to the cathedral, in front of which they sang a chorus. After divine service in the Wigberti Church for the Catholic, and in the Barfisser Church for the Protestant, deputies, the members of both Chambers met in the Government House, where M. Radowitz, as President of the Administrative Council (the new German ministry appointed by Prussia and the Associated States), opened the session with an address. In his address, M. Radowitz referred to the treaty of the 20th of May, 1849, by which the German States, then allied, bound themselves "to secure to the German People

a constitution," and to lay their plan before a Diet called exclusively for that purpose.

"He contended that the position of the States still holding together was not altered by the secessions of other States, and that the allied governments ought not further to delay the fulfilment of the promises made to the German Nation. He stated that Saxony, without withdrawing from the League of the 26th of May, had (looking on the summoning of the Parliament as untimely) declined to send any deputies; and that Hanover had altogether separated. Hanover and Saxony would therefore be impeached before the Court of Appeal of the League for the non-fulfilment of their duties to their allies. Without waiting for the issue of this complaint, the duty of the other States remained to complete the work they had undertaken; and the Administrative Council therefore laid before the two Houses the draft of the new German Constitution."

The deputies then retired to their respective houses (to apartments prepared for them in the chancel and nave of the Augustiner Church, formerly attached to the monastery of which Luther was a "brother"), and proceeded to constitute themselves, to elect presidents, and to occupy themselves with other formal preliminaries. They will not commence business till after Easter.

The Court of Appeal to which Hanover and Saxony are to be summoned is not yet constituted. Prussia will, therefore, be both prosecutor and dictator of the method of prosecution; that is, if Hanover and Saxony consent to such arrangement. But Hanover has suspended all diplomatic relations.

Following in the policy of Hanover, the King of Wurtemberg, in his speech on opening the Chambers, at Stuttgart, on the 15th inst., pronounced his dissent from the Prussian scheme of unity, characterising it as "visionary;" and Prussia has thereupon withdrawn her ambassador. The Prussian Foreign Secretary, M. Schleinitz, in a somewhat intemperate letter, dated March 22d, has notified to the Wurtemberg ambassador the total rupture of all relation between the two Governments. In this letter M. Schleinitz expresses the astonishment which the Government of his Prussian Majesty has felt on the occasion of the Wurtemberg speech from the throne, an oration containing "accusations against Prussia and aspersions" of Prussian motives, against which his Majesty's Government "must protest with the profoundest indignation." "His Majesty's Government cannot condescend to discuss or refute such accusations," nor "think it compatible with its dignity to continue its diplomatic relations with a Government which has not scrupled to place itself in such a position; and his Majesty's ambassador at the Wurtemberg Court has subsequently, by the express order of his Majesty the King, been instructed to leave Stuttgart with all the members of his embassy. While I communicate this measure to you, I leave it to you what steps you will think proper to take in consequence."

The Wurtemberg ambassador replied, that it only remained for him to ask for his passports, which were given to him on the 23d. Under such promising auspices begins the new Prussian "endeavour" for German unity.

ECCLESIASTICAL AGITATION.

The decision of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in the case of Gorham *versus* the Bishop of Exeter has been the provocative of important movements in the Church. A meeting in London last week of clergymen from dioceses throughout England protested that the doctrine of Mr. Gorham, upheld by the decision, is a doctrine heretical and contrary to the creed; a declaration, signed by Archdeacon Manning, Dr. Pusey, and Dr. Mills, the two Wilberforces, Mr. Keble, Mr. Bennett, and the barristers, Mr. Hope and Mr. Baddeley, with other active Anglo-Catholics, contains the assertion that, if the church abandon the catholic doctrine of the article on baptism "she forfeits the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church," and "can no longer assure to its members the grace of the Sacraments, and the remission of sins."

Our London Church Union set the example of sympathy with the Bishop of Exeter by an address. This produced a reply, in the course of which he says, "It seems but too likely that we are as yet only in the commencement of the flight of faith appointed to us." Other church unions throughout the country are following the example of the London body.

The refusal of the Bishop of London to concur in the judgment against the Bishop of Exeter has elicited some weighty demonstrations of approval. Mr. Richard Cavendish, of Belgrave-square, has published the following address to the bishop, and reply by him:—

"We, the undersigned (lay) members of the Church of England in your Lordship's Diocese, being deeply impressed with a sense of the dangers to the faith and vitality of the Church of England, which the judgment in the case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter involves; of its certain tendency to destroy the *bona fides* of all subscription to religious tests; and of the general unfitness of a Court so composed as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for the treatment of questions of Christian doctrine; entreat your Lordship to take counsel with your right rev. brethren concerning the application of a remedy to these evils, and particularly

concerning the adoption of means which may enable the Church to declare, in such mode as shall appear most effectual, its doctrine touching the Sacrament of Baptism.

"C. B. Adderley, M.P.; Beresford; Edward Baddeley barrister-at-law; H. Baillie, M.P.; Edmund Batten, barrister-at-law; H. Barnett; C. G. Barnett; G. F. Boyle; Courtenay; Campden; Castlereagh, M.P.; Richard Cavendish; Charles Cave; J. D. Chambers, barrister-at-law; J. D. Coleridge, jun., barrister-at-law; T. Somers Cocks, M.P.; Andrew Colville; De Tabley; Emlyn, M.P.; W. J. Evelyn, M.P.; Fielding; H. Fitzroy, M.P.; George Frere; W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; Harewood; Thomas Hare, barrister-at-law; Alfred Hervey, M.P.; Henry Hoare; A. J. Beresford Hope, M.P.; J. R. Hope, barrister-at-law; J. Gellibrand Hubbard; W. C. James, Bart.; Lyttelton; J. R. Kenyon, barrister-at-law; Lewisham, M.P.; Colin Lindsay; C. M. Lushington; John Manners, M.P.; H. A. Merewether, sergeant-at-law; Wm. Monsell, M.P.; J. R. Mowbray, barrister-at-law; Nelson; Newry and Morne, M.P.; Ralph Neville; Stafford H. Northcote; Powis; Roundell Palmer, M.P.; Melville Portal, M.P.; J. R. Phillimore, Advocate in Doctors' Commons; Redesdale; J. J., Rogers, barrister-at-law; Frederick Rogers; Somers; H. K. Seymer, M.P.; John Charles Sharpe; C. W. Short, Lieut.-Colonel; J. Simeon, M.P.; Augustus Stafford, M.P.; John C. Talbot, barrister-at-law; G. C. Talbot; H. Tritton; F. R. Wegg-Prosser, M.P.; W. Page Wood, M.P."

The Bishop's answer:—

"London-house, March 25, 1850.

"My dear Mr. Cavendish,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and of the address which accompanied it, signed by several peers, members of Parliament, and other gentlemen connected with my diocese, yourself among the rest, entreating me to take counsel with my right rev. brethren, concerning the application of a remedy to the evils likely to result from the recent judgment in the case of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter; and especially concerning the adoption of means which may enable the church to declare, in such mode as shall appear most effectual, its doctrine touching the sacrament of baptism.

"I hasten to assure you and the other subscribers to the address, that I am fully alive to the necessity and the duty of taking counsel with my brethren at the present crisis, and of doing all in my power to avert the injurious consequences which are apprehended as likely to follow from the judgment in question.

"The task of devising measures for the attainment of that object is one of great delicacy and difficulty; but it will not be hopeless if all those who desire its success will maintain the truth in a spirit of moderation and charity, and seek to build up the walls of our Zion by their prayers for unity, and by their endeavours, in reliance on the Divine Head of the Church, to strengthen or amend whatever is weak or faulty in its government. "I remain, my dear Mr. Cavendish, your faithful friend and servant,
"C. J. LONDON."

Four Bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland have formally addressed the Bishop of London to tender their heartfelt thanks for his faithful refusal to concur in the decision. In his reply, he repeats his non-concurrence in this emphatic form:—

"Holding it to be unquestionably the doctrine of the Church of England that infants receive remission of original sin in baptism, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, applied to them by that sacrament, and finding in Mr. Gorham's answers to the Bishop of Exeter's questions a distinct denial of that doctrine, I could not bring myself to concur in the reasons assigned by the Judicial Committee for recommending her Majesty to reverse the judgment of the Court of Arches.

"Mr. Gorham holds that the remission of original sin, adoption into the family of God, and regeneration must all take place, in the case of infants, not in baptism, nor by means of baptism, but before baptism—an opinion which appears to me to be in direct opposition to the plain teaching of the Church, and utterly to destroy the sacramental character of baptism.

"I cannot admit that this opinion is to be reconciled by any latitude of interpretation which can reasonably be claimed with the Church's articles and formularies; nor do I believe that it is an opinion which is held by more than a very small number indeed of our clergy.

A church paper gives the following piece of gossip in explanation of the view taken of the Anglo-Catholic movement by Sir Robert Peel and some of his intimates:—

"Mr. Sewell, one of the preachers at Whitehall Chapel—to which appointment he was nominated by the Bishop of London—has been, for some time past, in the habit, not only of delivering discourses, having reference mainly to politico-ecclesiastical questions, but also of insulting some of the more illustrious of his hearers, on account of the course pursued by them as statesmen. A silent, but significant, rebuke was administered to the preacher on Sunday last, by many of the regular attendants allowing their pews to remain unoccupied. Mr. Sewell, having announced his intention of preaching on the subject of national education, Sir Robert Peel's family were absent, as well as Mr. Cardwell, and other members of Parliament. Mr. Sewell was, however, unusually moderate, and did not resume the parallel (instituted upon a previous occasion) between Pontius Pilate and our modern statesman."

A PUSEYITE RECUSANT CLERGYMAN.

The trial of the Reverend Moorhouse James, perpetual curate of Bedford, in the parish of Leigh, which took place at Liverpool on Wednesday, is another of those cases in which the Established

Church and the law are openly at war with each other. For some years past the Reverend Mr. James has kept the neighbourhood of Leigh in a state of continual ferment, by his adherence to those canons of the church which are generally deemed obsolete. Among other rules which he considers it his duty to enforce is one relating to marriage, which he refuses to celebrate unless the parties claiming his services have been confirmed, or have expressed a desire to do so. After various abortive attempts on the part of the Bishop of Manchester to moderate the zeal of the reverend gentleman on these points, certain of his parishioners resolved to bring the case to trial in court of law, in order to ascertain whether he, as a clergyman of the Established Church, could defy the law with impunity. The charge upon which Mr. James was brought up was for having "unlawfully refused to marry Henry Fisher and Ann Hardman on the production of the certificate of the superintendent-registrar of the district in which they had given the requisite notices, and complied with the forms of the act of Parliament." The defendant, who had surrendered to his bail, pleaded "Not guilty." In stating the case for the prosecution, the Attorney-General for the County Palatine explained that it was one of very great importance, inasmuch as the decision of it might tend to settle conscientious scruples entertained by the defendant and other clergymen as to the course they ought to pursue. He related how Mr. James had refused to marry Fisher and Anne Hardman named, on the ground that they had not been asked in church, and had not been confirmed. The superintendent-registrar, having given evidence as to the fact that the proper legal forms had been complied with, and that notice was read at three weekly meetings of the poor-law guardians, the judge, Mr. Baron Alderson, took occasion to find fault with the mode of publishing marriages at guardian meetings. He said:—

"Is the guardian meeting a public meeting? May anybody go there?"—Witness: "No."—The Judge: "How is a father to know when his child is going to marry?" "The marriage notice-book is open to the public at all proper hours." "Yes, that is if a father knows his child is going to marry—knows what is true—he may go there; but how is a father to know his child is going to marry?" "I am not able to answer that question." "No, nor anybody else. The banns were published that all people should know. This is one of the evils of change."

The counsel for the defence contended that Mr. James had committed no legal offence; he was bound by the canons and by the rubric, and, if he were wrong, his offence, if any, was cognisable in the ecclesiastical courts. By the ancient law of the Church, the communion was required to be administered at the marriage ceremony; and although the rubric added "or at the first opportunity after their marriage," this still presupposed a certain degree of fitness in the parties to receive the communion; and this the parties were not, as they were living in a state of fornication. He thought it was due to members of the church that their scruples should be respected as well as those of other sectarians, and that it would be an infringement of civil and religious freedom to compel clergymen, against their consciences and against the canons which they were bound to obey, to celebrate one of the church's most sacred rites to persons who were unfit to receive them. In summing up, Baron Alderson said:

"As at present advised, he was strongly of opinion that this was a matter solely of ecclesiastical cognisance, and if he were to act on his opinion now he should direct an acquittal, but if so he should deprive the parties of the opportunity of raising the question. In order therefore to raise the question he must act contrary to his opinion, and direct them to find the prisoner guilty, and if wrong he could be set right by a superior court. With respect to the objections, they were such as ought to be reserved, but he should confine them to those which the defendant took at the time he refused to marry. The legal objections raised he should also reserve."

The jury then found the defendant *Guilty*, and he was bound over in his own recognisance to appear and receive judgment when called upon.

On Monday a deputation waited upon the Registrar-General, at Somerset-house, with a memorial numerously signed by Dissenters and Catholics in various parts of the country, praying him to use his influence with Government to procure the abrogation of that clause of the Marriage Act which requires seven days' notice to be given before a license can be obtained from a Superintendent-Registrar, and also of that clause which enjoins the reading such notices before boards of guardians, or hanging them up in the register-office of the district, in those cases where the marriage is by license. In a letter to one of the gentlemen composing the deputation, the Registrar-General says he agrees with them in the opinion that notices of marriages which are to be by license ought not to be read before the boards of guardians, and he should call Sir George Grey's attention to the point.

RESTITUTION OF CONJUGAL RIGHTS.

The question of how far the rules of the Roman Catholic Church, touching marriage, can be made to

overrule the law of England was decided in the negative, last Saturday, in the Court of Arches. The case was that of the Rev. Pierce Conolly, of Albury, Surrey, formerly a clergyman of the Episcopal Church of America, against his wife, who became a nun some years ago, and wishes to continue so. The marriage of the parties took place in 1831, at Philadelphia, according to the rites of the United States Episcopal Church, and the fruit of the union was five children, three of whom are alive. The rev. gentleman and his wife lived together until 1835, when they agreed to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, and took the necessary steps for admission into that church, with a view to Mr. Conolly's becoming a Roman Catholic priest, in pursuance of which object they both took a vow of perpetual chastity. Mr. Conolly then proceeded to Rome, and in July, 1843, returned to America, where he was rejoined by his wife, and they continued to live together until April, 1844, in the same house, but still observing their vow, preparatory to a decree of separation being obtained, which would not only allow Mr. Conolly to take holy orders in the Church of Rome, but also permit his wife to enter a convent as a nun. On a petition being presented to Pope Gregory XVI., the cardinal's vicar-general pronounced a sentence which was said to have the effect of a decree of separation, soon after which Mrs. Conolly entered the convent of the Sacred Heart, at Rome, and her husband assumed the ecclesiastical dress. He was afterwards ordained a priest, and in May, 1846, came to England, and became chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Mrs. Conolly also came to England and founded a community of religious women at Derby. That community afterwards removed to Hastings, and Mrs. Conolly was now its superioress. In order to qualify her for the office it became necessary she should take vows of poverty and obedience, and accordingly, in December, 1847, she did so, and also renewed her vow of chastity. The Rev. Mr. Conolly made no objection at first to her taking the vows, but he afterwards entered a protest against her doing so, on the ground that he would be liable for any debts she might incur. In January, 1848, he went to Hastings and demanded an interview with his wife, which, however, was declined on her part, whereupon the present proceedings were instituted. The case was brought under the notice of the Court of Arches in November last, when it was pleaded on behalf of the wife that a husband and wife might lawfully separate by mutual consent, in order to enter into religious orders, and that such separation must be approved of and allowed by the Pope. This was stated to have all the force of a legal sentence of separation, and was pleaded as the law applicable to the case. The court did not think the question at all determined by the fact. No cases had been cited to show that laws which were peculiar to one state were necessarily taken notice of by other countries. It was not sufficient that such was the law of Rome; it ought to be shown that such law had been received and acted upon in this kingdom. It was not to the law of Rome the court was to look for the rights, duties, and obligations arising from the marriage state. With regard to that question it would look to the laws of England alone. What were those laws? One was undoubtedly the living together of the parties: they were not permitted to separate voluntarily from each other—to be released and dispense with that obligation which was a part of the marriage contract; separation, on the contrary, must be attended by a judicial sentence.

Sir H. J. Fust, in delivering judgment, said it had been urged that, although the court might not consider the facts pleaded in the allegation on behalf of Mrs. Conolly a bar to the suit, yet, considering the situation in which the lady was placed, and the vows she had taken, the court might hold its hand, and not compel her to break them by enforcing the sentence. The learned judge said that the allegation must be rejected, as there was nothing in it which ought to bar the suit of Mr. Conolly.

The proctor, on behalf of Mrs. Conolly, gave notice of appeal to the Privy Council. "This," according to the *English Churchman*, "was evidently for the purpose of giving Mrs. Conolly the opportunity of escaping to the Continent; for, during the continuance of the appeal, the sentence of the Arches Court is necessarily suspended. Had there been no appeal, the effect of the judgment would have been that Mrs. Conolly would have been served with an Injunction, admonishing her to return to her husband; and, in case of disobedience, she would have been pronounced in contempt, and have been incarcerated."

DISTURBANCES NEAR GLASGOW.

On Tuesday last the authorities of Hamilton, had to distract for poor-rates at Newmains, a village near Wishaw, and principally inhabited by persons employed in Coltness ironworks. It seems that in Newmains the poor-rates are levied upon "means and substance," pressing very heavily upon the working classes, who consider that it was not intended that they should be brought under the operation of the act. When the officers, however, appeared to distract, the assessment was immediately paid; but on leaving they were followed and annoyed by a number of idle boys, one of whom they apprehended. The crowd at this time was considerably increased by the

addition of the colliers, who were holding a meeting relative to the rate of wages. The prisoner, a drawer in one of the pits, was immediately rescued; and the officers were hunted to Wishaw, where they took refuge in the house of the collector, the crowd continually augmenting and "the clamour exceeding anything of the kind since the 'strikes.'" The sheriff and fiscal, being unable to disperse the multitude, sent for a detachment of the 4th Dragoon Guards from Hamilton barracks; but on their arrival the tumult had subsided. Some few lads were arrested and conveyed to Hamilton gaol as an example. The only damage is the breaking of the collector's windows.

THE BRIDGENORTH MURDER.

The case of Mercy Catherine Newton, which came on for trial at Oxford last week, is altogether one of the most perplexing with which we have met for many years. This woman, as many of our readers will recollect, was charged with having murdered her mother, on the 5th December, 1848. Few doubted the fact, for she was notorious for her brutality towards her mother; but no one could assign any explanation of the mode in which it was accomplished; nine or even ten suggestions—as strangulation, suffocation, &c., were made, but the evidence failed to confirm any one of them. The question was: did she strangle her mother—and afterwards, throwing oil on the clothes and the sofa where she lay, set fire to the body? or was the fire an accident which caused the death of her mother?

All the medical men were of opinion that the body could not have been burnt as it was, merely by the clothes and sheets which were on it, but that it could have been so burnt if the flame had been rendered more intense by a quantity of grease and oil being thrown upon it. At first, the impression was, that the deceased had been thus burnt to death; but on minuter external examination, it was observed that, with the exception of one small blister, which contained straw-coloured serum, in the inner side of the right leg, four inches below the knee, and far below the place where the great burning commenced, there was no blister on any other part of the body, and no mark of redness at the parts where the injured and uninjured tissues joined, or around that one blister. On the night in question the deceased had not been heard to scream or moan. The medical witnesses all thought that the pain of burning is so great that if alive she must have been in such intense agony that she could not, if she had been strong enough to walk from the kitchen to the brewhouse, have refrained from screaming, unless under a suicidal determination to refrain from doing so.

Hence the belief that the body was burned after death, a belief strengthened by the appearances of the lungs, brain, and the black blood in the left auricle of the heart, which spoke plainly of suffocation. On the other hand, there were no signs of strangulation perceptible on the throat, and the theory for the prosecution was, that the prisoner smothered her by putting something over her mouth and nostrils, and pressing it so forcibly down as to break and flatten her nose, in the manner above-mentioned, and, when she was dead, immediately commenced burning her. But the medical men, in their *post-mortem* examination, had not looked at the trachea, larynx, and internal organs, which would have presented unequivocal signs if suffocation had been the cause of death; and the absence of this evidence, with the absence of any external marks of strangulation, as of a rope round the neck or fingers on it, made it very dubious whether suffocation really was the cause of death; and, if it were actually the cause, yet might it not, said the prisoner's defence, have arisen from the smoke of the fire which frightened and then stupefied her, by producing a spasm of the glottis. And as to the presumptive evidence of the daughter's ill treatment, Mr. Huddlestone, to show the danger of relying upon such circumstances as evidence of guilt, drew their attention to the fact that, on a former occasion, the deceased had set fire to the sofa, and if she had been then burned to death, those expressions and that conduct would have availed as well as now to convict her of a crime of which she would have been beyond all question guiltless.

So thoroughly perplexing is the evidence that, after three *post-mortem* examinations and ten meetings of the coroner's jury, no agreement could be come to by the jury as to the cause of death; they could not even agree that the prisoner should be put upon her trial. However, tried she was at the Spring Assizes, 1849; and after a two days' trial the jury could not agree, and were obliged to be discharged. At the Summer Assizes she was again brought up, and again the jury were discharged without having agreed upon a verdict. She was brought up for the third time on Thursday, March 23d.—The prosecution was conducted by Mr. Phillimore and Mr. Best, and the defence by Mr. Huddlestone and Mr. R. Kettle.

The prisoner, who is said to be thirty-one years of age, but looks forty, was dressed in half-mourning suitable to her station in life. On the former trials she exhibited great firmness and composure, and frequently made suggestions to her attorney, but on the present occasion she sat quiet in the dock and appeared to cry very much, particularly when the witness Mary Corfield was detailing the expressions she had uttered towards her mother, and the mode in which she used to ill-treat her.

The jury retired at half-past ten, and returned into court in twenty-five minutes with a verdict of *Not Guilty*. By two or three, perhaps four, persons the verdict was received with plaudits, but by the great body of the audience with decorous silence. The prisoner was ordered to be discharged.

FATAL CRUELTY: THE BIDEFORD CASE.

An Assize case of most tragic interest was tried at Exeter, on Friday, last week. Robert Curtis Bird, a farmer, and Sarah Bird, his wife, were arraigned for the wilful murder of Mary Ann Parsons, their young servant-

girl, by continued cruelty, starvation, and blows. Bird had taken little Parsons from the Bideford Workhouse, as a drudge to assist his wife, who kept no servant: when, on the 29th of September, she was taken from the house, she bore the character of a particularly good child, very cleanly, cheerful, obedient, and industrious; and she was in good health, sound in body, and had sufficient plain clothing. She seems to have suited her place at first; for more than once before last Christmas Mr. and Mrs. Bird had praised her, in answer to inquiries. But about Christmas some change had occurred; the child was spoken of as thieving and lying, and seems to have been often cruelly beaten: on the 4th of January Mr. Bird conveyed the news to Bideford that she was dead.

Grace Parsons, her mother, immediately went to Mr. Bird's lone farm to see the truth of this sudden and sad news. Mrs. Bird received her with studied pains to conciliate her good opinion, saying—"I am very glad you are come, Grace. I thought you would come. I have got the kettle boiling; I thought you would be glad of some tea." Grace found her child dead on its bed filthily dirty, with her petticoat on, and a handkerchief tied round her arm. Mrs. Bird said that the Sunday before something was running from her arm; "a place broke and discharged a good deal." She told the story of her death. She was "bad" the night before, and called out for some water; and Mrs. Bird told her to fetch it, and she did fetch it, and went back to bed. Mrs. Bird went to her bedside, and found her legs cold; she put a warm water-bottle to them, and another bottle between her arms, which were also cold. In the night Mr. Bird said, "All is very quiet;" and she said, "Go and see if Mary is dead." He went to her room, returned, and said, "I don't know whether she is dead or no, she looks very smiling." She then went to her room. She saw she had not moved, and the jar was in the same place between her arms. She then said she spoke to an old man who was sleeping in the room, and said to him, "I think Molly's dead, she's so quiet." He said, "I think she is. I have spoken to her several times, but she did not answer." Grace continued—"Mrs. Bird persuaded me not to have a jury on the child, and said, if I would not, 'she would be a friend to me as long as I lived, so long as she had a penny I should have a part.' I said I could not give it up. I was sitting before the fire when Mrs. Bird came and fell down on her knees and said—'My dear Grace, will you forgive me? think of me and my poor children.' I said I can't give it up. How can I? Mr. Bird then spoke up and said, 'What's the good of having a jury on the child now? look at the expense of it.' I said, 'Never mind the expense, it won't fall on you or me.'"

Mary Branch, a blacksmith's wife, laid out the body. She said, "I observed from the ankle to the thigh the child was cut very bad, big and small, and covered with blood. She had the mark of a violent blow on the hip. I took off some plasters from the left hip. I also observed marks of violence upwards. After examining the body, I went down stairs. Mrs. Bird was in the kitchen. I said, 'Mrs. Bird, how could you serve the child so—she is served very bad.' She took me into her bed-room, and said she would be a friend to me as long as she lived if I would persevere with the mother of the child and persuade her not to say anything about it. I said, 'Why did you not send for the doctor?' She said she was faulty for not doing so. I said, 'I think you was.' She then said, 'Will you do what I am going to ask you? I will be a friend to you, Mary, as long as you live, for one word of yours will go a great ways.' I said 'I could not, my conscience would not allow me to do so.' She said, 'I know I have been faulty. I have flogged her different and different times.' I then came out of the room, and went down stairs. Mrs. Bird said that Molly had called down stairs for something to drink to her little boy, that she had called to her, 'Come down yourself; do you want a servant to tend you?' That the child came down as well as she could, and that she rambled and fell. She took her by the arm; but she said, 'Missus, I'll try to get up by myself; I look as if I was drunk, but I beant, be I?'

Topas, a mason, said that in November he heard Mrs. Bird beat the child inside a door near which he stood, and immediately afterwards saw the girl with blood on her face.

Morish, a shoemaker, the day before Christmas-day, saw Mrs. Bird send the child with a menace into an out-house; as the child turned he saw blood running down from her head.

Hopper, a labourer, just after Christmas-day, saw Mrs. Bird beat the child with a hazel stick "spraggled" with knots; and with a furze-stub; the child seemed very ill, and some drops of blood fell from her as she walked.

Mrs. Norman, daughter of the gaol-keeper at Bideford, heard the prisoners converse when they were brought to prison. Mrs. Bird told her husband *he* was the last that beat the child. He said nothing, but cried. She lifted up her eyes, and said, "My good Lord Jesus Christ, hear my prayers this once and answer them, and bring me through this trial, and I'll never do the like again, and walk as upright as angels in heaven." They sent for their uncle, Mr. Courtis; he came and told them he should never see them again, as it was the kick Robert gave her on Christmas-day that killed the child. On a sign from Mr. Bird to be more guarded, the old man looked round, saw Mrs. Norman, and said no more. They sent him away, saying he would do them more harm than good; and Mrs. Bird told him to burn two letters he would find in her box.

Mr. Turner, a surgeon, of Bideford, described the *post-mortem* appearance of the body on Saturday, the 5th of January, the day after Mary Ann was said to have died:—"On the legs and thighs I saw several wounds, varying in extent, and evidently inflicted by some irregular or rough weapon. It struck me to have been by a birch. There was a bruise on the chest. The face was discoloured, and the forehead, and some abscesses on the arms and fingers. The skin over the bowels was

discoloured. On the left arm there was an abscess, and the skin immediately round it discoloured, as if it had been bruised some time, perhaps a fortnight. The abscess had burst below the elbow. There was another abscess just forming. The nails of the little and fore-finger were gone, apparently some time. The two middle-finger nails were also gone, apparently more recently, and in one the bone protruded. On the right arm there was also an abscess that had also burst. The body was then turned. On the right hip there was a large slough. On the posterior part of the hips were several wounds, apparently inflicted some time. They were covered with plaster, and appeared to be old sores. Between the shoulders were two trivial bruises. The outer layer of the skin of the back had separated from the inner. I thought it was the result of the serous part of the blood having poured out between the skin after death. *The child appeared to have been dead some days.* The weather was extremely cold at that time. That would have retarded the symptoms of decomposition. There was also a mark on the face, from the temple down to the cheek. I made a *post-mortem* examination. On removing the scalp I found another bruise on the back part of the head, with considerable extravasation of blood diffused between the scalp and the skull. On removing the skull I found the membranes of the brain extremely congested. The skull was perfectly sound. On removing the brain I found at the base of the brain extravasation of blood. I examined the chest; the contents were perfectly healthy, with the exception of a slight adhesion of the right lung to the side. The stomach was perfectly empty, and bowels healthy. I found the cause of death in the head. In my judgment death was the result of the external injuries. I could not form a judgment how that violence had been inflicted. The condition of the girl must have been extremely reduced before death, and the powers of life weakened. The injuries I observed would have produced an effect on the nervous system, which is connected with the brain."

On cross-examination, he stated that, though what he saw inside the head might have been produced by natural causes, he did "not think the injuries he saw in the head were produced by falls." A person with incipient congestion would shun the light. The fingers had been frost-bitten probably: frost-bites would indicate languid circulation, which would tend to congestion under any circumstances. "The appearances I observed of decomposition indicated that that must have taken place some days before I saw the body. Those symptoms could not have appeared in thirty hours after death."

In the defence of the prisoners, Mr. Slade contended that there was no evidence of malice prepense; nor any evidence whether the injury to the head was caused by a fall or a blow; nor any evidence who gave the blow, supposing there had been one. The jury could not convict in the absence of testimony, and upon mere guess-work.

Mr. Justice Talfourd said that according to the evidence the death was caused by a blow, but there was no evidence by whom that blow was inflicted. There was nothing to show that the child would not have lived, except for that blow at the back of the head, which produced the effusion at the base of the brain. If the jury doubted which inflicted the blow, they must acquit both.

Mr. Rowe then contended that the prisoners still might be convicted of an assault; but the judge held that to bear out that, the assault must have arisen out of the blow which was alleged to be the cause of the death.

Mr. Rowe said the prosecutors had but done their duty in laying the case before the jury, and they were quite ready to leave the matter in his lordship's hands.

Mr. Justice Talfourd said the case was one of most serious and painful interest, and he was desirous that it should have proceeded to its legitimate termination. Shortly after the girl was good, honest, and well, some fearful change came over the transaction. She was seen to receive chastisement of which he did not approve, but which, taken singly by itself, might have excited little regard. She then lost her health, and is found dead on the 4th of January. In order to maintain an indictment for murder or manslaughter, it must be made out that the unlawful act was the cause of the death. The medical gentleman had stated the cause of death to have been a pressure of blood upon the brain, and they asked how he accounted for that congestion? He said he attributed it to the injury upon the back of the head, produced either by a blow or a fall. Now, they had arrived at this, that whatever ill-usage this poor child might have received, there was no proof of the cause of her death. If it had been from a kick or a blow inflicted by either of the prisoners, no doubt that would have been murder or manslaughter, according to the particular circumstances of the case. The difficulty they were in was this—there was no proof of who it was that gave that blow. It was very true they might suspect it was given by one or other of the prisoners; but, in the absence of all proof, he could not direct them that there was evidence to fix it upon one of these parties more than the other. If the death had been occasioned by privation, or want of food, then the male prisoner alone would have been responsible; if it had been proved to have been occasioned by a succession of injuries, which they might infer from the state of the body, then there would have been a case to go to them if the death had been occasioned by an accumulation of wrongs and injuries. It seemed to him that the case had failed, and, therefore, much to his regret, he was bound to tell them that there was no case upon which they could safely convict, and consequently the prisoners must be acquitted.

The jury accordingly returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." Cries of remonstrance and indignation arose from the audience. Mr. Slade stated to the judge that he should not apply for the present discharge of the prisoners; it would be *safer* that they should return to prison at present. The prisoners were, therefore, taken to prison to escape the anger, and perhaps, the vengeance, of the mob.

STRANGE DEFAMATION CASE.

An action was brought at Liverpool, by Dr. Nolan, the minister of a Dissenting chapel in Manchester, against one Pettigrew, to recover damages for gross defamation of character. The defendant Pettigrew had accused the doctor, who is a married man, of improper intimacy with some female members of his congregation, and with the still graver offence of administering drugs in order to prevent the obvious consequences. From the evidence it appeared that the plaintiff was in 1838 appointed minister of Ducie Chapel, Manchester, but, having given great satisfaction, a larger chapel was built for him in 1840. In the same year he was married. Disagreements seemed to have existed very early between the plaintiff and his congregation, and in 1848 rumours of impropriety were afloat. In 1848 Dr. Nolan quitted his chapel, to remove to the south of England, and on parting received a testimonial from his congregation. In June last year he was requested to return; and then the charges were brought forward, which gave rise to the action for defamation. Three witnesses were called by the plaintiff, one to prove utterance of the slander, the other two being the young woman whose name was connected with his in the charge of adultery and her mother. Mary Postlethwaite stated that she is twenty-four years of age, was and is a member of Dr. Nolan's congregation; has been married four years: she was married by Dr. Nolan. Was a milliner up to the time of her marriage. Dr. Nolan never used any improper freedom with her. The charge was without the slightest foundation. On cross-examination she stated that she was in the habit of going to Dr. Nolan's house, sent by her mother, who had published poems, for which Dr. Nolan wrote notes. On most occasions Mrs. Nolan was not there. She stayed sometimes not more than ten minutes. Was a teacher, which took her a great deal to the chapel. Had been at the vestry frequently with the doctor when no one else was there. Her objects were various. Never went about any religious exercise. This continued up to the time of her marriage. There was never any imputation upon her conduct. Catherine Gorman, the mother, stated that she had never heard any imputation against her daughter till last week.

Mr. Knowles then called witnesses for the defence. Elizabeth Townley, a silk-winder, and unmarried, thirty-five years of age, was first acquainted with Dr. Nolan ten years ago, when he preached at a chapel in Cable-street. She was a member of his congregation at Ducie Chapel. Dr. Nolan had given her money; praised her nice soft hand. She had been to his home: he used to invite young women of the schools and of the chapel to his home,—sometimes two and two, sometimes alone. His wife was sometimes at home, sometimes not. One evening, at a tea party in the school-room, he had taken her into the vestry. She objected to go because there was no light; but he got hold of her hand and pulled her in, and tried to be very persuasive. These occurrences were repeated almost every time she went into the vestry. On one occasion he told her that he was not the only man who had been tempted, and that she should recollect David and Uriah's wife, and how Christ had commended the woman taken in adultery. At length he succeeded in overcoming her scruples, on one occasion only, about six years since. He said he could prevent any harmful results. He never proceeded to such extremities again; but was very free in his conduct, and called it "fun." She became ill, and Dr. Nolan sent his own doctor to her. She has been in ill health ever since. On her cross-examination she said that she had been singing and praying before that time when he conquered her scruples. It was against her consent. She resisted; but did not call out because he said he would not harm her. Plaintiff repeated his improper behaviour about twenty times. She continued to go with him into the vestry because others told her they did the same, and because he threatened to destroy her character.

Joseph Bottomley, the chapel-keeper, deposed to having looked in at the vestry window one Sunday after divine service, and to having then witnessed the reverend gentleman's perfectly unreserved conduct with Mary Gilchrist. The window was painted, but he had looked through a large scratch.

The trial was proceeding when the latest report left.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen, Prince Albert, and the rest of the Royal Family, left Buckingham Palace for Windsor on Monday. The Queen has continued to take exercise in the grounds adjoining the castle during the week.

On Monday and Tuesday the royal charities were distributed to upwards of 800 persons, who received a crown each. On Maunday Thursday the royal charities were distributed to thirty-one aged men, and an equal number of aged women.

MARLBOROUGH-HOUSE, the London residence of the Queen Dowager, will shortly be given up to the custody of the Crown by her Majesty's representatives. The remainder of the effects will be removed in the course of the present week, and possession of the mansion will then be rendered to the Commissioners of her Majesty's Woods and Forests.—*Globe*.

The Marquis of Bristol has placed his Kemp-town mansion at the service of the Count de Neuilly, who, with the Countess de Neuilly and the Duke and Duchess de Nemours, may be expected at Brighton about the 3rd of April.

Mr. Pemberton, who has been for many years attached to the Treasury, has retired from the public service; and the other office held by that gentleman, as agent for the Russian Dutch Loan, has been abolished.

The Marquis of Clanricarde, the Postmaster-General, has gone to Paris to negotiate a modification of the rates of postage upon letters passing between Great Britain and France, with a view to the diminution of the present charges.

Mr. John Watson Gordon, president of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, &c., has been appointed the Queen's limner in Scotland, in the room of the late Sir William Allan.

By the death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Macdonald, which took place on Wednesday, after a few days illness, the colonelcy of the Forty-second Foot becomes vacant.

The Countess Rossi (Madame Sontag) and the Count arrived in London on Tuesday evening. Sontag will make her first appearance on Thursday next, conjointly with Lablache, in "Don Pasquale."

Dr. VAUGHAN recently received and declined an invitation, backed by the Reverend J. A. James, to become the pastor of the church assembling at Ebenezer Chapel, Birmingham.

The Hon. W. T. H. Fox Strangways, M.A. formerly student of Christ Church, has presented to the University galleries about thirty pictures of great interest and value, mostly by Florentine and other early Italian masters.

Dr. Buckland still continues very much indisposed at his living of Islip, and we regret to add but little or no change for the better has taken place in the reverend doctor's health.

Mr. Disraeli, though not sufficiently recovered to accept the Lord Mayor's invitation to meet Prince Albert at the Mansion-house, is convalescent, and will be able to resume his place in Parliament after Easter.

The Rev. Dr. Lear, Dean of Salisbury, died on Saturday. In addition to that deanery he also held the rectory of Bishopstone, near Salisbury, worth about £1,000 per annum. The benefice is in the gift of the Pembroke family.

The *Cologne Gazette* states that Madame Schroeder Devrient has just married, at Gotha, a rich Livonian named Bock. This is her fourth husband; the three others are still living, but separated from her by divorce.

The *Manchester Guardian* states that the Premier is expected to pay a visit to Manchester and neighbourhood for two or three days next week. He is to be the guest of Sir Benjamin Haywood, at Clarendon; and his visit is to be strictly private. On this point the *Guardian* says, that it can hardly suppose, however anxious his lordship may be to make his visit private, that the "Prime Minister of this country will be permitted to visit one of its chief cities without an effort being made, by the authorities or otherwise, to pay him some more or less public mark of respect."

A Cabinet Council was held on Saturday afternoon at the Foreign-office.

A new writ for Totnes has been issued for the return of a member in the place of Lord Seymour, who has accepted the office of First Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, at the old salary of £2000 a year. He has again offered his services to the electors.

Melbourne papers state that, on board the ship John Thomas Poord, no less than thirty-three of the emigrant passengers died of cholera in the passage from Plymouth to Melbourne.

The following are the names of the new Senators of the University of London, as nominated by the Crown:—Lord Montague, Lord Overstone, Sir James R. G. Graham, Bart., M.P., the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, Mr. G. Cornwall Lewis, M.P., Mr. Henry Hallam, and Mr. George Grote.

At a meeting of the land-tax commissioners for the county of Middlesex a motion was carried to have a new assessment of a portion of the county by an equal pound-rate on all property to the tax. It was also resolved to petition Parliament for an act more accurately defining the powers of the commissioners.

At the dinner to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the General Theatrical Fund, Mr. Webster, the chairman, announced a list of subscriptions amounting to £400, her Majesty the Queen being a donor of £100.

The Duchess of Orleans has arrived at Ludwigslust (Schwerin). She will remain a few days with her family, and then come to England with the Count de Paris and her younger son.

Amongst the contemplated acts of royal grace in celebration of the Queen of Spain's accouchement, if it terminates happily, will probably be the creation of a princedom for Narvaez, under the title of Principe de la Concordia, with a grant of land, and the elevation of Queen Christina's children by Munoz to the rank of Infantes of Spain.—*Madrid Correspondent of the Morning Post*.

The Queen of Portugal has just conferred on the King of the Netherlands the Grand Cordon of the Three Military Orders.

The approaching marriage of the Duke of Genoa, brother of the King of Sardinia, with a Saxon Princess was officially announced to the Chambers at Turin on the 22nd.

The elections of the Saone-et-Loire have been annulled by the French National Assembly, on the ground that a greater number (by 6000) voted than the number inscribed on the electoral lists. Six seats will thus have to be recontested in "one of the most disaffected parts" of France.

The editor of the *Reforme* has been sentenced to imprisonment for six months, and to 2000*l.* fine for accusing the President of the Republic of being concerned in Bourse operations.

The Vienna journals announce that after Easter the Emperor of Austria will visit Trieste, accompanied by Prince Schwarzenberg; and will probably return by way of Croatia.

The Austrian and Prussian Governments have arranged with the Austrian Lloyd's Company a new postal convention for the despatch of letters, &c., to India, China, and Australia, at reduced rates.

The cultivation and manufacture of beet-root sugar in Russia is stated to be advancing rapidly.

Mrs. Mary Woodhouse, of Poulton, who died last week at the age of eighty-nine, has left the following offspring:—seven sons and daughters, 59 grandsons and daughters, 72 great-grandchildren, one great-great-grandchild; total, 139.—*Lancaster Guardian*.

The execution of Anne Merritt is to be respited during the pleasure of the Crown. A further investigation of the case has been considered necessary by the Home Secretary.

On Wednesday an old man, named Evans, who was lodging at Mr. Whitmore's, greengrocer, Charles-street, Westminster, committed suicide by shooting himself through the heart with a small pocket-pistol.

Sansome, the man convicted at Nottingham assizes for murder, through procuring miscarriage, where the girl, Bailey, died, has been respited until the first of May. This implies that his life will be spared.

The wife of a baker named Moir, in Brydges-street, Covent-garden, died on Sunday evening from the effect of a beating which he had given her on the previous Friday night. An inquest took place on Tuesday, and on Thursday Moir was examined at Bow-street Police Office. It was proved that he had been in the constant habit of violently ill-treating his wife—beating and kicking her. According to one of the witnesses, Moir's own account of the affair was, that when he went home on Friday night he found a bottle of gin hid under the piano, and this, coupled with the fact of his wife not having closed the shop at the usual hour put him into a rage. He gave her a beating then, and repeated his brutal conduct next day, on the plea that she was not attending properly to the business of the shop. On the evening of Saturday the poor woman was so completely broken down with his cruel treatment that she fell on the floor of the backroom, where he left her to lie for two hours in a state of insensibility, with her head resting upon the kitchen step. The surgeon who had made a *post mortem* examination of the body said he could find no evidence of the woman's having been intoxicated on the Saturday, as the prisoner wished to show. The verdict of the coroner's jury was "Manslaughter," but the facts came out more strongly at the Police Office, and the magistrates committed Moir for trial on a charge of "Murder."

John Carrington, who murdered his father and mother about a fortnight since, at Little Eversden, in Cambridgeshire, by dashing their brains out with a spade, and who had long been known as a mischievous idiot, has been acquitted on the ground of insanity.

A family of ten persons in Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Page, their son, Mr. Page's two sisters, a governess, and four servants, were poisoned last week, apparently by arsenic, in the sugar used in a fruit pudding. The whole of the family were seized with symptoms of poisoning. Mr. Page and his son both died in the course of the night; but the rest of the family are likely to recover. The sugar had been used at breakfast, had made Mr. Page ill, and had excited suspicion: it was thriftily reserved for puddings! The doctor who was first summoned was unable to attend from illness, he having dined at Mr. Page's that day, and eaten some of the poisoned food.

A large fire happened at Glasgow on Monday night. The extensive "Port Dundas Grain-mills" were wholly destroyed by a fire, the origin of which is unknown. The amount of loss, £15,000, which will be borne by insurance-offices.

The Commissioners for promoting the Exhibition of 1851 have issued a notice regarding the prizes to exhibitors. The following are its most important regulations:—The rewards will be "generally" bronze medals, executed by the most eminent artists of all countries. For raw materials and produce prizes will be awarded upon consideration of the value and importance of the article and the excellence of the specimens; in machinery with reference to novelty of invention, superior execution, increased efficiency and economy, importance in a social point of view, amount of difficulties overcome; in manufactures increased usefulness, such as permanence in dyes, improved forms and arrangements, quality or skill in workmanship, new use and combination of materials, as in metal and pottery, beauty of form and colour with reference to utility, cheapness relatively to excellence; and in sculpture, models, and plastic art, beauty and originality, improved processes, application of art to manufactures, and, in the case of models, the interest attaching to the subject. The juries to decide upon the works exhibited will be composed of Englishmen and foreigners, and their names published when decided upon. The commissioners also intimate that in giving medals, they do not preclude themselves from awarding money in addition to the honorary distinction.

A second notice offers three prizes of £100 for the best designs of the reverses of three medals, (the obverses will contain portraits of her Majesty and Prince Albert), and prizes of £50 each for the three best not excepted.

POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY.

A crowded meeting of the friends of the Lancashire Public School Association was held in the Manchester Free Trade-Hall, on Thursday evening; Mr. George Wilson in the chair. The meeting was attended by Mr. Henry, M.P.; Mr. George Dawson, of Birmingham; Mr. William Biggs, of Leicester; Mr. Peter Rylands, of Warrington; the Reverend Dr. Davidson, the Reverend William M'Kerrow, the Reverend Dr. Beard, Dr. Watts, and other well-known friends of the movement. The chairman stated the principle of the association to be "to give to the working classes, indeed to all classes, as a great educational charter, the right to be educated at the public expense in the country or district in which they reside." He spoke in very severe terms of the course

taken by the Bishop of Manchester on this question. Speaking of that dignitary, the chairman said:—

"No man had it in his power to do more good in this district than he, with the vast influence he had at his command, if he had chosen to exercise it; but what I complain of is this, that with his great knowledge of the advantages, aye, of the necessity of education to all classes, with no scheme of his own, with no announcement that, at any future day, the world is to be favoured with any scheme of his own, he chooses to stand up and bring all his vast influence, all his powerful commands, to overwhelm and crush the noble efforts of the people to do that for themselves which the church has neglected to do for them, to lead the van on the side of ignorance against men who are as sincere, as earnest, who have proved themselves as earnest in benefiting the people as he himself is, is not what I think we ought patiently to submit to."

The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. P. RYLANDS, who moved a petition to Parliament in favour of establishing a general system of secular education, supported by local rates, and managed by local authorities. In seconding the motion, Mr. GEORGE DAWSON replied to the objections of those who call the Lancashire education plan "a godless scheme":—

"Secular education was said to be 'godless,' but he had learnt to know that everything was 'godless' which was not according to the little opinion of the man who pronounced it. But he was not going to join the religious creed of those who occupied themselves with denouncing the Pope, or were so well versed in the laws of Heaven's chancery, that they could tell him what a potato rot came for, or the exact crime for which God afflicted you with the cholera. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*) They were here to make the church an offer. He had heard that once a year the Pope washed certain beggars' feet; but he had also heard that some sort of a chamberlain took the worst part of the dirt off first. (*Laughter.*) Now, what did the 'godless' infidel people offer these churchmen? The people were dirty enough, God knew—sunk into a state of ignorance we at one time had the power of preventing; they had fallen out of Church order, fallen away from religion, scarce knowing the name of God, or reading the New Testament. What did this association offer? Why, they offered to be the Church's chamberlain, to take off the worst part of the dirt, and leave the people to be lavendered and eau-de-Cologned by the Church herself if she would."

Among the other speakers were Mr. BIGGS, of Leicester, the Reverend W. M'Kerrow, and Mr. J. S. SMITH, of Halifax. The meeting passed off with great animation. A Manchester correspondent says:—"The Rev. Hugh Stowell, endorsed by his Lordship the Bishop, is loud in his denunciations of the Lancashire educational plan. Mr. Stowell has violently attacked the Association in three of his most recent public appearances, the ostensible object of which were, to advocate 'Sabbath Observance,' the claims of the 'Church Pastoral Aid Society,' and of the 'Church Missionary Society.' Above five hundred of the most respectable merchants and others of Manchester, recently presented a requisition to the mayor to call a public meeting of the inhabitants to consider the educational question. Mr. Stowell has publicly advised his friends to 'be at their post in good time,' and is using the most strenuous efforts to 'pack' the meeting, which comes off in the Town-hall on Monday."

A meeting of the "New Short-time Committee" for the amendment of the Ten Hours' Bill, was held at Manchester yesterday. It consisted of representatives from the neighbouring towns elected by the operatives. The only notable part of the proceedings was some correspondence between Mr. R. B. B. Cobbett and Lord Ashley, in which the former showed that the bill brought forward by Lord Ashley would not meet the views of the committee. A resolution was moved to the effect, that if Lord Ashley refused to embody the terms which the committee proposed, the matter should be placed in the hands of some other member.

At a meeting of the Dublin corporation on Thursday, it was unanimously resolved to adopt an address to her Majesty praying that the office of Lord-Lieutenant may not be abolished.

The King of Prussia will go to Dresden, to be present at the marriage of the Duke of Genoa with the daughter of Prince John.

A Madrid letter of the 23d inst. states that the Queen continued in good health, and that two physicians had left for the mountainous district of Santander, to select a stout and healthy nurse.

The beautiful parish church of St. Anne's, Limehouse was destroyed by fire yesterday morning. About half past eight o'clock the inhabitants of the district were alarmed by the loud ringing of the church bells, the fire having been discovered by a man named Rumbold, who lights the stoves in the church. He had just set light to the furnaces, when he perceived a strong smell of burning wood, and shortly afterwards saw a quantity of smoke issuing from the roof. Fearing that something serious had happened, as there had been some irregularity during the past fortnight in the burning of the stoves, Rumbold ran directly for the engine-keeper; and the two, ascending through the bell-fry, opened a door over the organ loft, leading to the space between the ceiling and outer roof. They were instantly driven back by the rush of smoke and hot air;

but the engine-keeper could perceive that the north-west corner of the chamber was in flames. A crowd of inhabitants soon collected; but it was some considerable time before any engines arrived; and the fire advanced so rapidly that it was with great difficulty that the Reverend George Roberts, the curate and a body of gentlemen, were able to save the parish records: the roof fell immediately after, with a crash like the roar of artillery. The destruction of the whole edifice speedily followed, the fire only ceasing when it had burnt itself out. So complete is the ruin that, though the remains of the roof and galleries are all confined within the four walls, the mass of rubbish does not reach the height of two feet. The bare walls and the six great pillars that supported the roof are now mere blocks of calcined stone. A meeting was held at the Town-hall to inquire into the causes of the fire; but no satisfactory account was arrived at.

The electric telegraph brings the conclusion of the case of Nolan v. Pettigrew for defamation of character, verdict for defendant.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

SOCIETY AND ITS SALVAGE.

"To save society," that is the great profession of public men in France. "Society" is a something to be saved; and they are exemplifying the heroic act. Society, if we are to understand them, is benefiting by their exertions, though you would not suppose it. They are engaged, most of them, except the extreme popular party, in devising laws to prevent communication between the electors and any persons whatever in any other capacity; to prevent the People from meeting in clubs, lest the People, meeting itself, should be tempted into some sort of conduct suicidal, or conduct at all events inconvenient if not dangerous to the said politicians. Laws also to prevent the People from reading the newspapers they like, by imposing such high caution-money that papers can only be established by the rich, of course in the interest of the rich, addressed to the rich, and inculcating the doctrines of the rich. M. Molé puts this very clearly: the daily press, he says, is a tribune or speaking-place like the National Assembly, set up in every man's house; and as the writers of the press, to obtain their own profit, flatter men's opinions and passions, by such constant action they destroy the free will of men. That is to say, "to save society," M. Molé must protect it against the action of free discussion, and will only allow it to have the mild diluted discussion prescribed by himself and friends. M. Thiers would save society by "putting down detestable publications against society;" and he thinks the recipe will succeed forsooth, because "the Laws of September saved the Monarchy of July." M. Parieu, Minister of Public Instruction, would prevent universal suffrage from being led astray by anti-Social [that is Socialist] doctrines.

These are specimens of the way in which the public men of France are "saving society." They remind you of those who, to save a drowning man, keep down his body by hustling over it in their emulous and exasperated humanity.

But what is this society to be saved? "Good society" appears just now in no peculiar want of salvation. Good society is rather flourishing at present in Paris; having its parties and its reunions: the distressed community cannot, therefore, be good society.

It can hardly be society in the widest sense of the word, because in that sense the society with which Frenchmen deal is another term for the whole organized nation of France in its domestic capacity; and that does not appear to be materially altered of late, nor likely to be materially influenced by the volunteer efforts of political quacks intent on combinations for getting themselves into office.

Here we have the clue to the enigma. A society that cannot go alone without these vexatious police interventions at every turn, to keep it from communicating with itself, lest it should seduce itself into courses destructive to itself, cannot be very well worth saving. Indeed, it could not last a week. Society existing by the vigilance of the policeman would go out in a few days; the policemen would be sure to nod. The password of the day, then, is a sort of thieves' cant; and when the combined traders of French politics talk of saving society, the thing they mean is the society of bureaucratic persons and their connections. It is to save society of *this* nature that the French People is led to the ballot-box by the policeman, is deprived of its newspaper, is driven from its club, and is forced to stay at home when prefects and

generals choose to proclaim martial law. The society to be saved by these expedients must be a very bad society indeed. A truly chivalrous enterprise would be one to save France from that society.

THE CHURCH, ITS BISHOPS, AND ITS PRIESTS.

A STRANGE spectacle the Church of England presents just now of internal dissension, indiscipline amounting to anarchy, and distracted councils. To the enemies of the church or of religion a spectacle for exultation. The main facts of the case which now shakes it to its foundations are already clear to most of our readers, though possibly even yet not to all. Mr. Gorham is presented to the vicarage of Bramford Speke, in the diocese of Exeter. The Bishop examines him as to his doctrines and qualifications, and finds that he holds a doctrine which the Bishop pronounces to be not one of the Church of England; and he rejects the candidate. Mr. Gorham refers to the Court of Arches, a tribunal which deals with ecclesiastical affairs, and his claim is negatived by the judge of that court, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust. He appeals to the Queen in Council, whose authority in that behalf is administered by the Judicial Committee, a body composed of law lords. While the committee sits in judgment it is assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London, Privy Councillors, and in this case ecclesiastical assessors, nominated by the Crown to advise the law lords. The Judicial Committee searches into precedents and authorities, and, after a search more wide than discriminating, it collects a number of texts, which clipped, and patched, and pieced together seem to justify the lucky conclusion—that the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham, and challenged by the Bishop of Exeter, is in such a state of confusion among the authoritative documents and luminaries of the Church of England, that diverse opinions may be held upon it within the church, and, therefore, that diversity of opinion does not disqualify a candidate for induction. The Court of Arches is ordered to do "justice" in the matter; in other words, to force the Bishop of Exeter to induct Mr. Gorham. The Bishop, point blank, refuses to do so; and his superior in the province, the Archbishop of Canterbury, will have to induct Mr. Gorham himself, or by a proxy specially appointed. At that point the case stands in the formal proceedings.

The disputation has not been stationary. Correspondence and writings of all kinds have appeared in all quarters. Among them forth comes a great pamphlet in lurid crimson-purple, a violent letter by Henry of Exeter to his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, not only protesting that the writer will refuse to induct the schismatic Gorham, but also protesting that any one who gives admission to Mr. Gorham is "a favourer and supporter of heresy," and that he, the Bishop, "will not hold communion with any one who shall so abuse the commission he bears." The Bishop furthermore bestows much labour and penmanship to prove that the Archbishop of Canterbury is a trimmer, that he has held strictly orthodox doctrines, but that he now falls off from the high standard, and vacillates in the desire to conciliate. The Bishop dictates to his Metropolitan "the best, perhaps the only safe course:" "Call together your com-provincial bishops; invite them to declare what is the faith of the Church on the Articles impugned in this judgment." A body of most respectable residents in the London diocese has called upon the Bishop of London to take counsel with his brethren on the bench, and attempt a settlement; and the Bishop intimates that he will do so. On the other hand, Lord John Russell declares that the judgment has given "general satisfaction," and that Government has no intention of taking any steps in the matter.

The question on which all the disturbance arises is this. The Bishop of Exeter holds that in the act of baptising an infant, the priest confers that grace of God by which the infant is admitted as a member of the Christian community, that he is reborn "in Christ." Mr. Gorham holds that, "in order to make them worthy recipients of that Sacrament," the infants "must have been regenerated by an act of grace preventive to their baptism," an act of grace directly performed by the divine power. In other words, the Bishop holds that the priest administers a miracle complete in the act of baptism; Mr. Gorham holds that the efficient regeneration is previously performed by a direct manifestation of the divine power. The Bishop of

Exeter arrogates to the priest, as a minister of God, the faculty of miraculous regeneration "in Christ;" Mr. Gorham deems that the infant is elected before baptism, without which the baptism is null. Surely, to the Church of England this must be a very essential point—a question relating to the definition of a Christian according to that church; determining, therefore, who are or are not the members of the great spiritual state incorporation. And, to us, the Bishop of Exeter, however violent his mode of expression, seems to be not only justified, but bound to act as he has done in refusing to confer the cure of souls on one in his estimation, so "schismatical." Surely, there must be within the Church of England some authority capable of defining what is or is not the doctrine of the Church. Manifestly the Judicial Committee could not settle so very abstruse a question. The committee only evaded the question: it took the whole case before it in the lump, ignored the essential matter of doctrine, put itself in a state of studious confusion in order to decide upon the "law," and, finally, pronounced a judgment which is valued, by those who do value it, for its social expediency.

Now, if the Church of England is a defined body having specific doctrines, the conduct of the state represented by the Judicial Committee is an act of tyranny, because it forces upon the Church of England, in the ministry of its offices, a man who does not hold the doctrines of that church. Here the ban upon free discussion recoils against those who have used it most. Ambiguity is favoured, because it helps to retain a semblance of larger numbers within the establishment. Ambiguity is also encouraged by priesthoods because it saves the tenets upon which their influence rests from effective scrutiny. Laities encourage it, because it saves them the trouble of attaching ideas to their words, and also because it enables them to fulfil religious offices without too great a strain upon the understanding. The feeling on both sides is, that religious doctrine—the doctrine respecting eternal powers—is a thing so feeble that it will not bear handling. This is to make the power that rules the universe weaker than the thing ruled. We do not feel that fear in regard to the subject of material truths. A man may dash himself to pieces on a rock,—the stoutest handiwork of man may be scattered like the vessel of the potter,—but no geologist tempers the blow of his hammer lest, perchance, it should crack right through the globe; surely religious truth, or any other truth, cannot be weaker than the rock? But the fact is that ecclesiastical authority is the thing desired, and not religious truth; men prefer to stop at a half truth or some fraction less, lest authority be too much narrowed.

But the effect recoils upon themselves. Having created a vast system of discussion, in which words are poured forth, cast and recast on every side without specific ideas attached to them, ecclesiastics now find that the instrument of language is feeble in their hands and fails for their defence. And ambiguity is prolific: had it not been for this habit of un-idea'd discussion, we should not have had these refinements upon shadows, these ungraspable and undefinable doctrines, "truths" which men pretend to handle, and yet are incapable of explicitly stating. The Church of England has been foremost to quash clear and open discussion, has fostered the habit of ambiguity, and now it is shaken to its centre by what a great authority in its hierarchy pronounces to be an heretical fantasy, some undefinable notion of the Gorham mind about "prævenient grace;" and in its day of trouble and humiliation the Church cannot, dares not, defend itself by a direct and unqualified assertion of its principle, but is fain to seek shelter in the lucky intellectual confusion of lay tribunals, or the defence of persons alien to its community. The Church of England lies under a lay tyranny, which can be tolerated by those alone of her communion who are not whole in their adhesion. She may justly claim equality with the many sects that sever the Christian community in this country. An incorporation implies organization, order, discipline; things the more urgently demanded where the object of the corporation is of a grave and serious character. The spectacle which the church now presents, under the influence of this lay intervention, is that of dissension, indiscipline, and irreverence—priest arrayed against Bishop, Bishop against Primate. To belong to an incorporation is to accept its laws; those who desire absolute freedom must keep without the pale. Men scruple to accept or to repel the doctrine of a "prævenient grace," but not to make the most sacred subjects

weapons of personal offence. Men's consciences make them rebel against authority, but do not deter them from trying to cheat the Church out of her envied temporalities, by imitating the device of the cuckoo and insinuating into the pleasant seats of the Establishment the children of Dissent. All this is "diversity of opinion," and is all patent to the "Christian"!

If the Church is an institution to be put down, let it be so; but until that time let us grant to it, equally with other sects, the faculty of defining its own spiritual constitution and limitations. Religion is a nullity if not free: it cannot be enslaved, though its votaries may be degraded.

GERMAN UNITY.

GERMAN unity, as formalized by the Parliament at Erfurt, is but a chimera. However much has been said or sung of late enthusiasm for this unity, such enthusiasm has never grown out of the hearts of the people. They have applauded vociferously enough; but only because they had been so indoctrinated, because the object of their applause was in that state of vagueness that a clear understanding was not necessary. German "unity" at Frankfort and at Erfurt, and in the minds of those who have been led away by hopes of good to be derived from either Parliament, has been and is but an idle dream of German *nationality*, a dreamy wish, which is unrealizable, simply because it is already realized. German unity, if it is to mean anything, must mean a political and administrative unity, a reality very far from the desires of the promoters of the Prussian bubbles.

From the first moment of what is called the German revolution (of March, 1848), the Reactionary party in Germany have striven to ruin the movement by falsifying its natural character. They changed the political question, to which men's thoughts were tending, into a mere formula of nationality; and the contemporary movements of Hungary and Italy aided them in their fallacious course. But those movements were altogether of a different nature. Italy and Hungary have each to conquer a nationality. Germany already possesses it. Governed neither by other peoples nor by foreign dynasties, neither incorporated in states not German, nor shocked by institutions strange and violently imposed,—what is the bare question of nationality to Germany? She is not bowed beneath the yoke of a stranger, nor subjugated by a barbarous people, compelled to the surrender of her proper individuality, to wear irksomely and crushingly the inferiority of the oppressor. She knows not the thousand ills that wait upon the vanquished. Her institutions, her laws, her habits, her armies, her masters, her official language, her religion, and even her miseries, are peculiarly her own. In truth, in Germany there is no room whereupon to debate this question of national unity. It is an existing fact, not a thing to be sought, whether at Erfurt or elsewhere.

The unity to be sought is not national but political. How to be obtained? The difficulty in the way is easily perceptible. There is not in the whole nation any desire opposed to unity, nor opposing interest save that of the German princes. There lies the hindrance. Either some impossible union must be discovered in which to bind the interests of thirty-four reigning families, interests that agree only in so far as those families are all opposed to the welfare of their subjects: or the royal hindrances must be removed. That any real political and administrative union of Germany is impossible while the princes remain, may be clear enough from the royal squabbles and jealousies attending even this sham endeavour at Erfurt. But remove the princes and the problem is solved. On this simple proceeding hangs the whole question of German unity. The matter is so simple,—the advantages of the position are so obvious, and so thoroughly felt the evils of the present German complication, with its many frontiers, its commercial impediments, its political divisions and dissensions,—that were the question of political unity plainly urged, the universal answer would be as clear. The princes understand this well enough, and therefore have confused the issue.

The bare formula of nationality answered their purpose. An instinct rather than the deduction of reason, to be felt rather than argued for, like love or religion not without its mysticism, the shibboleth of nationality is ever appealed to by political craftsmen who, impure in motive and confused in principles, would set moving the popular energy for their own ends, and yet escape the consequences of a political faith. And where

should this be done so easily as in visionary Germany? What less philosophic people could have dreamed of so mischievous an absurdity? The German Governments knew their men. At first they rang the alarm of French invasion,—that old well-used expedient for arousing the Germanic enthusiasm. Failing that, when there was no further mistaking the placid innocence of M. Lamartine, they discovered the happy idea of national unity, and forthwith illustrated it with flags, and eagles, and processions, and speeches, and proclamations, and *Te Deums*, till the indefinable was generally received. When some few unbewildered demanded the abdication of the Princes, the abolition of privilege, the establishment of equal law, of a veritable unity, they were denounced as enemies and destroyers of that beautifully-fragile edifice, that harmonious unity, but just founded, though none knew how or where.

From the midst of this hallucination proceeded that miserable Constituent Assembly of Frankfort, of which we might say that it well deserved its paltry end, were it not that it never sought any other end. To shelve all practical questions, to prattle of a patchwork unity, and to increase the bodyguard of the princes under pretence of assuring national independence, such was the glorious achievement of the Frankfort Parliament in a year of movement and of struggle. The people were set to prophesy of an already existing nationality, that they might not labour at their political redemption.

The dispute of Schleswig-Holstein may help to prove our position. There, at least, was a national question, whether a portion of the German family should be overlaid by Denmark. But how was this met by the apostles of German unity? There was no lack of popular sympathy; but the kings sided with the king. The *esprit de corps* outweighed the national sentiment. The history of nations exhibits few grosser instances of royal perfidy than in this affair of the Duchies. The German unionists excited the population to revolt, they openly espoused their cause, they exhausted the country by all the ravages of a campaign, they lavished recklessly the blood and gold of Germany, and all with their minds made up to slip the victory into the "enemy's" hands and to use the opportunity of sacrificing those "infected with democratic ideas." They were excellent cannons' food, and expressed the sympathy of the German princes. At length Baden and the Palatinate were overwhelmed; and it was time to finish the play. At Fredericia, by some strange management, the German army was beaten, 3000 democrats were left dead upon the field; and the defeat was pretext enough for a preliminary treaty of peace, concluded secretly at Berlin eight days before the battle. The Prussian Government hobbled through an official exculpation. It is enough that a Government should need to exculpate itself from the suspicion of such an atrocity. The war of Schleswig-Holstein may serve better than aught else to prove the treachery of the German princes in this question of a national union.

The Erfurt Parliament is the last grimace of the mask. The German people at length perceive the falsehood of their Government, even of the most "liberal;" and this is why not one in ten of the few qualified electors has voted for the new phase of hypocrisy. They have been wrongly blamed for thus standing aloof. What good could arise from helping the reactionary party in their last endeavour at confusion by any recognition of the Prussian League, or of its creature, this Prussian Parliament at Erfurt—this poor revival of the games of Berlin and Frankfort, which began with *Te Deums* and ended with grapeshot. Bourgeois diplomatists may try their wits upon these idle formulas of unity, nationality, and order (idle in this instance), playing with them as mere harmless abstractions, while they dread to follow them to their logical results; but it is time that true men everywhere should turn with indignation and loathing from the attempts to hinder action by excess of worthless words, to delay, by intrigue and falsehood, the appointed progress of Humanity.

A JUDGE.

ERSKINE discovered, on behalf of Englishmen, that the jury is the judge of the law as well as the fact; Mr. Justice Talfourd has discovered, on behalf of Englishmen, namely, Englishmen of the criminal caste, that there is impunity for murder, that there is no murder unless you can specifically, scientifically, and with most minute precision, trace

the physiological process of the last crowning murderous act. It is an exquisite refinement. A country couple hire a young girl from Bideford workhouse; torment her, beat her, starve her, and persecute her even in her dying days, so that at last nature fairly breaks up under the wear and tear of misery and agony; the whole facts are known to the neighbours, and fully recited in court. The history of the girl and of her murderers is as well known as that of the elm-tree on the village green—better. But yet there is a failure of evidence. So Mr. Justice Talfourd says. The girl was killed by these two people—they confessed it. Her body was a mass of disease, almost of living disorganization, caused by their brutalities, not interrupted even in the sight of neighbours. But in the multiplicity of injuries a doubt arose in the mind of the philosopher on the bench as to *which* of the injuries was the one that actually caused death, *which* violence it was that pushed the girl over the brink of eternity where those criminal hands had kept her so long; which last rudge or delicate poke of the finger toppled her over the brink.

Mr. Justice Talfourd adjudicates in the philosophy of that alderman who ascribed his death not to the whole supper, but to the last pea; and what is more, Mr. Justice Talfourd would have required you to identify that pea out of the whole peck: to produce it in court, and show that it was not any of this dozen or so of peas, or that dozen or so of peas, or that third dozen or so, all alike,— "as like as two peas,"—and all equally fatal in their tendency; no, not those, but this last particular pea which filled up the measure of human endurance! Had Mrs. Brownrigg been tried before Mr. Justice Talfourd she would have been safe. Clearly he would have wanted to see the last blow "produced in court" which knocked the little girls into the coffin; or the last crust of bread withheld. Not any crust of bread; but the actual, identical, and particular crust which Mrs. Brownrigg would not give, and on foregoing which the little victim expired. Without that Talfourd would not have believed in Brownrigg, any more than he does in this joint Baucis and Philemon Brownrigg of Bideford.

But there is much more in the Talfourd philosophy than this supersubtlety of doubt: he is, it appears, a man of large tolerance and charity, inasmuch that he includes, if not in his affections, at least in his indifference, the class of Brownrigg and Bird. "She was seen," he says of Mary Ann Parsons, and he speaks with a delightful delicacy that may be envied in Downing-street,— "she was seen to receive chastisement, of which he did not approve, but which taken singly by itself, might have excited little regard!" Sir Thomas should speak for himself. It is perilous to place ourselves as standards for others. "Our hands," says Madame de Stael, "we wash every day; our feet never." If Talfourd had *witnessed* the usage, of which even the mere description may make some men, neither weak nor cowardly, feel rather sick and rather fevered with a sort of retaliatory indignation,—if the philosophic Talfourd had actually witnessed this "transaction," the treatment might, he tells us, "have excited little regard."

But Talfourd is clear on one point,—of one thing he has no doubt whatever. Even to his subtle, refining, hair-splitting mind there is one thing that is absolute knowledge: it is the one fact that Robert and Sarah Bird "must be acquitted." Of the rest he is doubtful. To him alone cause and effect in the treatment and death of Mary Ann Parsons are beset with doubt fatal to conviction; but as to the impunity of the Baucis and Philemon Brownrigg, on that point his ever-active mind reposes in absolute certainty.

This judgment surpasses all antecedents in history. Certainly we have jumped at once in this direction to the final result of perfectibility. Talfourd is either a perfect judge, or the perfect opposite of a judge.

The stunted measure of the judge's "regard" for torment criminally inflicted mystifies us. The author of "Ion" cannot be other than a man with much intellectual perception, much feeling in his heart. Has he "retired from the stage into real life?" Some say that the law, not the judge, is in fault; but then who so fit to declare the imperfection of the law as the administrator that first detects it in this startling manner? Some say it is the indictment badly framed. Then where was the censure from presiding justice? The judge should not only superintend the technicalities of the law; to take his place fittingly among his com-

peers, possessed by the *spirit* of the law, he should grasp the substance of the subject-matter before him, for it is his duty out of conflicting argument to collect the material of truth, and to try it by the belief of his twelve assessors, the jury. How was it that so accomplished and cultivated a man missed the truth of this case, even to proclaim it though he might be unable to enforce it? Was the judge, all too mistaken, jealous of the poet, and so mistrustful of himself.

But how comes this peculiar Judge to have been selected for the stern duty of trying criminals—a duty from which his most striking excellences prove to be alien? In what passage of his public career had Thomas Noon Talfourd shown such mastery, such power of grappling with the very bone and substance of his subject, such steadfast independence of mind, as to force on the English Ministry the acceptance of his appointment? For it is remarkable that successive Governments were not in any hurry to select Mr. Sergeant Talfourd for the judicial bench. People began to say, indeed, that he had been passed over. What corrected that official misappreciation? It was simply this: Mr. Sergeant Talfourd belonged to the "Liberal" party; he voted in Parliament on that side; he had a certain standing in his profession; finally, there is one influence whose absolute authority over-rides every other in official matters, and that is—routine.

THE TRUE APPEAL FOR REPEAL.

A SPECIMEN of Ireland—there it is by Hyde Park: an exposition not of "the industry of all nations," but of one nation, not noted for its industry. The Diorama at Hyde Park Corner is the excerpt of Ireland, or a painted mirage thereof: for it is but paint after all. The sole specimen of the natives is that respectable but invisible Asmodeus, whose voice reaches you from behind a curtain—Paddy Blake's echo come to town to tell the whole story; and you have a fair-priced London pianoforte, vicè the wild Irish harp. It is but a shadow and a whisper, yet both have pregnant meaning for you if you care to take it.

The beauties of the Emerald Isle are in some sort before you, and beautiful they are: that wild hill of Glengarriff,—as wild and beautiful as anything in the Mediterranean; lovely Killarney; the Vale of Avoca, with its fantastic hills; and Armagh, with its hill-throned Cathedral,—home and type of the alien faith that now overrides the land without commanding it. What a country! How manifestly full of resources! What could not an English race have made of it? Pass before you also the "wrongs of Ireland," in the shape of certain unroofed huts; not an uncommon feature, Asmodeus tells us; for the Irish people suffer their abodes to put on that fashion rather plentifully. Also "scalps" and "scalpeens" are shown a kind of cross between the troglodyte habitations of the Red Sea and an Indian wigwam.

But while you look, that respectable and diligent pianoforte keeps up its strain of appropriate reminiscences,—a varied string of well-known Irish melodies, diversified now and then with a loyal compliment from the English "Warbler." But, even as the Irish muse parades her works before your ear, how impossible it is not to be struck, as if for the first time in your life, with the peculiar character of that music,—so expressive, so varied, so instinct with life; so fervid, so full of tenderness, of fun; so complete in its design. Here, then, is the power of the Irish;—here is the thing that they can do;—here is their logic. Can we match them at it? Assuredly not. In this phase, in this province of universal activity, we must acknowledge in the Irish a superior race. They can beat their English masters here. Even the defects of their music are strikingly characteristic and pregnant: it is the passion of sensation rather than impulse—the feminine rather than the masculine passion. It wants the impulsive power and action of Italian music; the downright sturdy force, sufficiently typified in the scraps borrowed by the Beethoven-Asmodeus from the "Warbler" of the English muse. The Irish genius does not inspire it with the knock-down force of "Britons Strike Home." The Irish are not Britons, and, as a nation, they do not strike home in this knock-down way.

It is the music of their wild hills, indigenous to the soil, or long growing there; not going forth to conquer, but existing to feel and enjoy. If we could get at the meaning of it, this it is which Ireland ought to be and do. Could English legislators rise to the standard of it, here is where

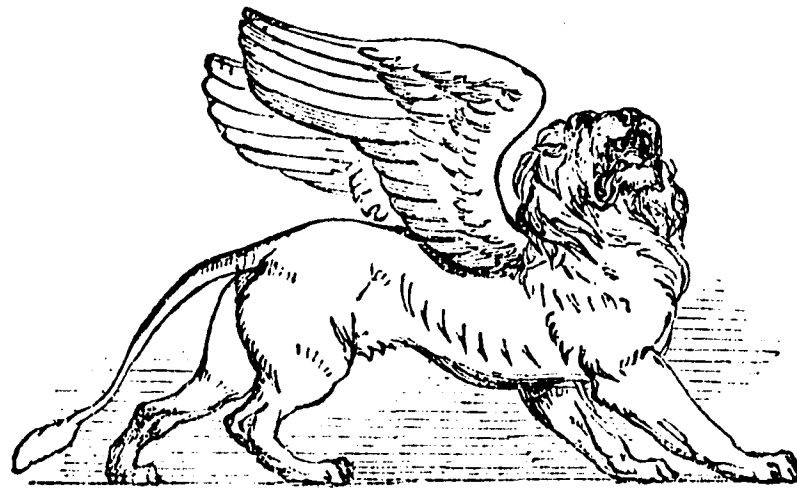
they should learn their lesson. And be it remembered these strains are not antiquated. Coolun is not a myth, but a modern personage; and Coolunism still lives in the people. We have made a bad business of our mastery; have not fostered, but rather perverted and suppressed the race whose misfortune it is to be weaker than we; inferior in many things, higher in some; at all events existing and born to the spirit of those hills. If we would make the best of them they must be what their music indicates. Could we English do it, we must legislate in the spirit of these songs. Our acts of Parliament should harmonize with the manifestoes of Coolun; and then might Ireland, with its fostered, and not suppressed, nationality, be a true and fitting handmaid of England.

"THE LEADER" AND PROTECTION.

It seems that the existence of our new journal has not been overlooked by persons interested in the "National Association for the Protection of Industry and Capital throughout the British Empire—President, his Grace the Duke of Richmond, K.G." Some printed papers have obligingly been sent to us, including a petition "to the Queen's most excellent Majesty," for a dissolution of Parliament, in order to reverse the Free-trade policy. The Protectionists are not well off for advocacy just now, at least a little gain on that score would not be unwelcome. If an organ of free discussion were to drift in that direction, we can conceive that it would be very satisfactory. We heartily sympathize with the objects of the association,—we desire to "protect" every British interest from many influences that now waste our energies and subsistence,—we desire most especially to secure for the British labourer ample opportunity for his industry, in order that he may have at least the privilege of "the curse," that he shall earn his bread in the sweat of his brow. But the Protectionists are moving in a wrong direction when they try to restore the laws of the past. Do they not see in history that every age has its own laws differing from those that have gone before, the result, indeed, of developed knowledge? The Protectionists must restudy this question, if they would once more have with them the British agricultural and the British workman. These are doctrines that lie in the onward path well suited to the admirable purpose of the National Protection Society; and if it will diligently seek in that onward path, possibly it may find such a treasure. In such case, it will be heartily supported by the *Leader*.

WIGAN COMPETING WITH NEWCASTLE.

WE understand that the directors of the London and North-Western Railway Company have entered into a contract with certain coal proprietors at Wigan to forward coals to London at the rate of 4d. per ton per mile. This will amount to about 9s. per ton for the whole distance from Wigan to London; and, as the terms of the contract are that 200 tons shall be forwarded daily, the income from this source alone will be about £40 a day, or £12,520 a year, excluding Sundays. It would be premature to say what effect this new arrangement may have in reducing the price of coals in London; but we have no doubt that when it has come fairly into operation, it will tend to cheapen them considerably.



Open Council.

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

UNDER this head we propose a Council wherein every Opinion may find a voice. Each speaker is responsible for his own ideas. We affix no conditions but these: That the communications be not too long—and that they comply with the decorum of tone and spirit enforced throughout our columns. Under these simple restrictions, we offer a free port to all Nations and to all Faiths; satisfied that the peaceful conflict of Opinion can only perfect the emancipation of Truth. In the following communications Mr. Thomas opens a subject which will receive ample discussion in future numbers. Mr. Holyoake's straightforward statement speaks for itself. Mr. Somerville's communication has been reduced in length to meet the exigencies of space, but not a sentence has been altered. The rest of the last letter is suppressed, because it relates to purely private matters.

RIGHT OF SUBSISTENCE OUT OF THE SOIL.

Harwich, March 23.

SIR,—I perceive from your prospectus that you intend to advocate "the right to a subsistence out of the soil." As this strikes at the very root of the great social question of property, perhaps you or one of your correspondents will be good enough to answer these questions.

Upon what *right*, other than the "right of might," does property itself repose?

Upon what primordial right do you base the necessity that each man should share in the advantages of property? It is easy to declaim upon the right of the poor man, and to rail at the selfishness of the rich; but I ask how is the man born into poverty through the improvidence of his parents, or thrown into poverty by the improvidence of his own acts, entitled to claim from me the surrender of any portion of my wealth and havings? As well might the sickly claim a portion of my health and spirits; as well might the ugly claim some graces of my person. I was born healthy as he was born sickly; I was born wealthy as he was born poor. It is my chance in the lottery. We cannot all be rich. Slaves—under one name or other—there always have been; slaves there always will be, *i.e.*, men contented or compelled to perform the lowest offices for the lowest rewards. To you, my poor and sickly friend, I say, "Your state is certainly pitiable, and I give it my pity; give also any spare cash or food which my benevolence or convenience may suggest; but, emphatically, I do not admit that you have any *right* to the same; no more than I can admit your right to my health."

What can you theorists object to in my answer? The right of property is not to be affected by new comers. If I have earned a sum of money, or my father has earned it for me, you admit my absolute right to that property; it is *mine*. Now, what right has any man, for whom neither my father nor I worked, to say he is entitled to any share of that money? Clearly none. And what is true of one species of property is true of all species; you can only escape the difficulty by saying, with the truculent Proudhon, that there is no such thing as property.

I return to the question: What *right* has any man to claim a subsistence out of the soil? If you, or any of your readers, can answer, that in a brief and convincing manner you will greatly oblige,

Your subscriber,

W. THOMAS.

ASSOCIATION AND COMMUNISM.

To the Editor of the *Leader*.

SIR,—Your prospectus, with an outline of principles and purposes, has just fallen into my hands; and a friend has intimated who the persons are—how well fitted, and what the means are—how ample, to carry out your purposes.

I observe that "the *LEADER* will seek to reflect the social life of England as it is—difficult, endeavouring, working out its redemption;" that "it will seek to cheer that endeavour, to help in that redemption." Good. But you must be something more than sentimental. I beg to suggest that you direct your power pointedly, forcibly, practically to the industrial association of the working classes. I hold that all social progress—all terrestrial happiness—must be founded on the acquisition of material wealth; and that this can only be acquired by a provident regard to profit and loss—to the production of more than is consumed. The equitable diffusion of material wealth may be obtained by the association of its producers.

I seek here only to draw your attention to the power of association; but I would distinguish clearly between association and communism. The one is an alliance of capital or reproductive power in its condition of greatest fertility; the other is reproductive power unprotected by the duty to produce before consuming: it is capital in its condition of greatest sterility. It has proved so even in the hands of devoted believers in communism. There is, to shallow minds, an ideal beauty about equality of rights, community of property, which leads them to a belief in the possibility of attaining to such a condition. They admit that all men should be perfect to work out such a principle, but are willing—they only being perfect—to take into alliance some of the old moral-world men and women (with money) to train them and their children to that perfectibility required. I knew a somewhat eminent instance of this kind. The chief apostle of the community, who was to guide the rest, began by violating a fundamental law, not of the old moral world only, but of nature; a law as indispensable to the harmony of the moral world, old or new, as gravity to the planets: he began by consuming capital without reproduction. By the operation of natural laws, which can only be set aside when the principles of eternal justice cease to be known amongst men, the community ate itself out of the house, and was dispersed.

But this is an exceptional case, says some one. I say, take it for what you may, the principles of communism remain. Those principles give the right to consume property without a power to enforce the

duty of producing it. Communism is capital and labour, in their condition of greatest weakness and sterility. Association is capital and labour, in their condition of greatest strength and fertility. We see what great works are reared by joint-stock companies of men, each with his capital as powerless to rear those works singly as he is to delve Kent with a single spade. I would have working men to associate for like performances, smaller or greater. I have little hope of their social or moral elevation, looking at them in the mass, until provident, reproductive association becomes their leading aim and practice. But such association must be founded on reproductive principles, not on the moral sentimentality of our unfortunate socialists at Harmony Hall, to whom I have alluded; nor the political sentimentality disjoined from true calculations of profit and loss, as in the O'Connor Land Scheme.

With these suggestions, and an expression of faith (considerably strong, though not absolute) that your new journal will supply a great want, fulfil a great end, lead the industrial orders of men in the right way to attain all that is attainable under heaven, and leave them better prepared even for heaven than in their condition of social degradation they now are,

I am, respectfully and hopefully yours,

ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE

("One who has Whistled at the Plough").

PRESSURE OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE ON THE ARTIZAN AND THE TEACHER.

In this country, admitted by its Ministers to be governed by Opinion, an able liberal paper is a power on the side of the People; and many who cannot altogether coincide with you will be grateful for the course, which, judging from your Prospectus, you propose to pursue.

A paper critical, not with a view of affecting superiority, but in order to be instructive, and manifesting a genial ability, is an exception among the newspaper press. The "Open Council" you offer is the crowning attraction to those to whom strong convictions have given the desire for utterance elsewhere refused, in deference, as you observe, "to some political expediency, social routine, or trading prejudice." It happens, however, to be no banned topic upon which I wish to be heard. My object is to draw public attention to two points of an argument of rising importance, to which I should have drawn Lord John Russell's attention on the occasion of the late Deputation to him from the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee, had Mr. Milner Gibson, at whose disposal I placed myself, been of opinion that his lordship's time permitted it. Next to such an opportunity I value that afforded in the department, placed at the public's disposal in the *Leader*.

The points brought before his lordship by Mr. J. D. Collett, Mr. Edwards, and the Rev. Mr. Spencer, of the deputation, were severally those of law, trade, and morals. I seek to add the cases of the Artizan and the Teacher.

When working in a factory, I first heard that phrase, indigenous, I believe, in political economy, a "glut of the market." Neither myself nor co-workers understood it beyond this—that it meant having nothing to do at the beginning of the week, and nothing to eat at the end. Naturally stimulated to correct, at least the culinary part of the defalcation, we had recourse to combination, and as wages fell we sought to raise them by "strikes." These were as fruitless in effect as they were fallacious in theory. Knowing no better, we still went on sowing anxiety and reaping disappointment. All this time, as I have since learned, many newspapers were writing wise words for our enlightenment, by which, could we have seen them, we should have been enlightened—but their cost kept them from us.

At length the appetite of the market, which, unlike some other things, does not seem to grow by what it feeds upon, became "glutted" entirely, and many of us were thrown quite out of work; and many were the weary months we spent seeking employment which we never found. The fact was, our branch of industry was used up—superseded. The newspapers knew it; they knew also what we should have been highly benefited by knowing, that other branches of industry were opening, to which we should have turned. But we did not know it. After years of tossing about, some were tossed into such work; and that was the only way whereby they were likely to find it. We might have found it otherwise had newspapers been cheap; and also common—for the struggle for bread in which the poor are engaged is so engrossing, that unless knowledge is thrust upon them they are not likely to come by it. The past condition of hand-workers, which I from experience have described, is true still of that class; and when I remember the bitterness and suffering imposed upon us by the absence of wholesome information, I think we have a just cause of complaint against any Minister who knows through what handworkers pass, and who yet continues Taxes on Knowledge; which are useful to nobody in the proportion in which they are disastrous to the thousands of partially and wholly

unemployed, who continually "tramp" up and down our land.

As there is doubtless great competition for your space, I reserve the argument deducible from the case of the Teacher for another opportunity.

GEO. JACOB HOLYOAKE.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

The following extracts are from a private letter addressed to the Editor by a distinguished writer, and an ornament to the Church, on receipt of the programme of the LEADER:—

"I am frightened at your prospectus; not but that the spirit of it is excellent, but do you really expect to realize a profit by speaking the truth? My old-fashioned Book tells me what those who take up that style of handling the world have to expect—not twenty per cent., but insult, calumny, misconception, persecution. I am not aware that Isaiah found his prophecies a profitable investment; and we know what was the end of one in Judea some 1800 years ago, who dared for three years to preach deliverance to the captives, and freedom to the lost. Perpend. I have been, thank God, as yet spared my share of the usual rewards of speaking my mind; but I expect the hornets about my ears weekly: on which day Heaven give me a thick hide, a clear conscience, and no expectations to get disappointed. Really, if you are right, I shall begin to believe, with Emanuel Swedenborg, that the Day of Judgment verily got itself transacted about the middle of the eighteenth century, and that we are now well on in the Millennium—as would appear from the *Morning Chronicle* revelations! Never mind, my dear —, go your way. Be bold, be bold, and everywhere be bold! Speak your mind. Out with it all—right or wrong, sense or nonsense, never mind—let's hear what you all have to say. If you're right, you'll do good at first hand; if you're wrong, you'll set some one else on setting you right, and do good so at second hand. Only speak your whole mind, every soul of you—no reservation—leave that to my cloth. Bawl out your whole thought before heaven and earth—if man will not hear you, God will. The curse of the day is just that no one will speak his whole mind—not a soul! I dare not, and therefore, I do no good. It is the very evil spirit of this poor queasy, cowardly, hysterical, conscience-stricken time, which would be delighted to repent if one could repent without mending one's ways—confessing to every sin on earth except the darling ones which it knows are at the root of all its sorrows, like a maid-servant in the family way, who bores the doctor with every symptom that she can recollect or invent, except just what's the matter with her."

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

ON the eve of Easter there is seldom much literary activity. We have only the diminishing echoes of Christmas; nor does the present Easter promise to be very brilliant, if announcements are to be trusted. BROWNING'S new poem, *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*, excites peculiar expectations, partly because it is his first publication since his marriage; and we may anticipate the pleasure of tracing the influence upon his impressionable mind of a remarkable woman, and of the strange mysterious impulses which arise from the new complexities of a married life; and partly because it is understood to be an elaborate defence of Christianity. If he has not played with his subject and toyed with his own fame, the world will have something to talk about—and, in poetry, that is a great rarity now-a-days. PHILIP BAILEY'S *Angel World*, announced by no "puff preliminary," announced solely by a wide reputation, is slowly making its way, and will presently meet with notice at our hands. But the talk of the day is centred in CARLYLE'S uncompromising pamphlets, which the majority deplore, while many shrug their shoulders in incomprehending amazement. Surely this outcry is somewhat unreasonable? CARLYLE has said nothing in those pamphlets which he has not said in his writings and conversations for many years; and, if he startles you with the savage earnestness and uncompromising distinctness of his language, is that not rather because you are unaccustomed to hear the language of strong convictions? But he is so intolerant! He is. He hates the word tolerance. He is a fierce worshipper of truth, and whatever to him bears the aspect of a lie meets with no sort of pity. He does not stroke the Devil down the back, and, with compassionating tenderness, call him a "poor misguided angel"! Differing as we do profoundly from CARLYLE'S opinions on many points, we have but one feeling for the sincere, powerful, suggestive, coloured manner in which he sets those opinions forth. He never speaks in vain. Where he is wrong, he is yet so strong that, by the force of antagonism, he strengthens your convictions. In the *Model Prisons* which excites

such horror, he has done great service by stating the argument for capital punishment in the most vivid form it has yet assumed; in his own peculiar way he brings it back to our universal instincts; and thus, to answer him, forces us to remember that Legislation is not Passion, and that the highest characteristic of Civilization is its subordination of our instinctive nature to our reflective—the triumph of humanity over animality.

Among the gossip of the day the *Life of the Duke of Kent* is already loudly canvassed. It opens up old stories of princely quarrels and princely ill-usage, and, as the life of the Queen's father, is certain to excite considerable attention. We may also mention ELIOT WARBURTON'S forthcoming novel, *Reginald Hastings*: no commonplace book must we expect in that. And a new work, or, rather, a new collection of scattered and forgotten essays by COLERIDGE, edited by his daughter, is announced. Even more attractive is the promise of SYDNEY SMITH'S Lectures on Moral Philosophy, delivered at the Royal Institution. England can boast no man of finer or profounder wit, and certainly no man of wit whose writings were so uniformly unexceptionable. In SYDNEY SMITH, wit always seemed the flower and consummate grace of exquisite good sense and good feeling; and it is the presence of the same qualities which renders the satire of THACKERAY at once so delightful and so terrible.

The name of THACKERAY naturally suggests that of CHARLES DICKENS. The first number of the *Household Words* will be in every one's hands to-day. If anything could make the new journal realize its title it is the name and presence of CHARLES DICKENS,—a beam of sunshine gladdening thousands. Grave misgivings have been felt respecting this journal, and the capacity of its editor for the "business" part:—misgivings founded mainly on the fate of the *Daily News*. A new monthly journal, edited by ALBERT SMITH, *The Town and Country Miscellany*, also makes its debut to-day. But we have reserved the plum for the last. Reader, how does Sir CHARLES DICKENS sound in your ear—how Sir DOUGLAS JERROLD? If gossip report "on authority" may be trusted, we shall soon have to salute them by some such title, it being the intention of Government to create an order of merit, and to lavish titles, not only on soldiers and patriotic aldermen, but also on men of letters. We confess we should prefer some title less indiscriminately given than that of knighthood.

French literature has sustained a great loss in CHARLES DE BERNARD, one of the few novelists with a real knowledge of life, and power of depicting it. He has been called a moral BALZAC; but, except that he exhibited no such love of the purrulent as disfigures the works of that very remarkable observer, we are unaware of any superiority in his moral code. His tone was always light, gentlemanly, and pleasant, with a quiet vein of satire and graphic powers of dramatic presentation. *Gerfaut, Un Homme Sérieux, Le Paravent, Le Nœud Gordien, &c.*, were works sufficient to have placed the writer everywhere *en evidence*; but with a modesty rare in these days, and rarer still among his countrymen, he shunned notoriety, and kept himself so secluded that daring adventurers could cloak themselves in his name and reputation, and secure for a season the benefits of "lionism." In the prime of his faculties he has been cut off. Among the tempting new yellow, blue, and green volumes with which JEFF'S counter is resplendent, we shall henceforth miss those bearing the name of CHARLES DE BERNARD: a name we never could resist. On the aforesaid counter there are, indeed, some novelties—PAUL DE KOCK offers us four volumes of *Une Gaillarde*, but unhappily the day is past when PAUL'S name had any attraction; in spite of his slipshod style and fondness for dirt, the day has been when he was the first of comic writers. EUGENE SUE makes a gasping effort to revive his popularity by *Les Mystères du Peuple*, and its socialism has so well supplied the place of genuine power that 10,000 copies have been printed. ALEXANDRE DUMAS, the matchless charlatan, and adroitest of storytellers—laughed at by all Europe, despised by all Europe, but read by all Europe—carelessly throws down before us six volumes of the *Collier de la Reine*, the thirteenth and last volume of *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne* (which is a continuation of *Vingt ans après*, which itself was a continuation of *Les Trois Mousquetaires*), one volume of *La Dame au Collier de Velour*, and four volumes of *Louis XV*. What, four new

works at once! It is even so. Ducrow rode eight horses at once, why should not Alexandre? Consider: couriers, ready to gallop off to the press with the wet sheets, wait at his door; express trains, puff expectant, like generous steeds champing their bits; Briareus Dumas has employment for his hundred pens. The booted courier smacks his whip and is off; the express follows; printers are satisfied for the nonce, and half an hour's leisure is before Monte Cristo. How to occupy it? Half an hour—the time to trifle with a *déjeuner*, and to adapt *Hamlet* for the Théâtre Historique, or to transform one of his own interminable romances into an interminable *drame historique*. That is done; and you see the result?

Serious literature is almost exclusively political at present. The revolution of 1848 has a new historian every week: now it is LOUIS BLANC, whose *Pages d'Histoire* must be taken as a passionate vindication of his share in that revolution which has been so recklessly misrepresented; another day it is the *Histoire de Février*, by ALFRED DELVAU, Ledru Rollin's secretary; and next week we are to have one on the same subject by DANIEL STERN—the pseudonyme of Madame la Comtesse d'Agoult, known by her *Nélida* and by her contributions to the *Revue Indépendante*, when it passed from the hands of PIERRE LEROUX into those of that conceited but pushing Democrat, PASCAL DUPRAT. DANIEL STERN is a GEORGE SAND—in duodecimo. Pamphlets and treatises on Socialism, *pro* and *con*, are excessively abundant, and speak loudly of the intense and absorbing interest of the subject. The report of THIERS on the *Assistance et Prévoyance publiques* gives a tolerably accurate picture of the Whiggish and terrified state of the reactionary party, alarmed at everything bearing the aspect of a positive doctrine. Even MICHEL CHEVALIER has to pass on it this sentence:—"Pour le qualifier d'un mot, il est négatif. Des dispositions positives de quelque efficacité, on les y chercherait en vain." MAZZINI has come forth with a plain-spoken word, *Le Pape au XIX^e siècle*. COUSIN gives the first volume of a treatise on Public Instruction in France; and CRETINEAU-JOLY an elaborate *Histoire du Sonderbund*. Is it necessary to mention the pretended "revelations" of CHENU and DE LA HODDE? Yes, to stigmatize the miserable appetite for scandal which disgraces the age. Here are two notorious and convicted scoundrels pouring forth calumnies (which must have been known from the first to be manufactured according to order by the police) on men in disgrace, and a ravenous public rushes after the filthy food, and our own newspapers complacently quote the calumnies that may discredit a party. Do we, then, think CAUSSIDIÈRE immaculate? By no means; but we energetically reprobate the facility with which the public has credited stories proceeding from such sources as CHENU. Why should the words of a scoundrel have any credence accorded them? If CHENU had written a defence of CAUSSIDIÈRE and the rest, as elaborate as his calumny, would the public have believed it? Not a word of it. They would point to the *character* of the eulogist. O wise and generous public! you will believe any infamy on its mere assertion, but you must have solid proofs before you venture to believe in virtue!

In Germany there is enormous activity in pamphlets, newspapers, and handbills, still angrily debating the questions raised by recent events in Vienna, Hungary, Schleswig-Holstein, and Baden; also by Waldeck's trial—a library in itself. But literature, properly so called, is desolate and down-cast. Even in fiction there is almost silence. Few works have appeared worthy of mention.

CARLYLE AGAINST DOWNING-STREET.

Letter-Day Pamphlets. Edited by Thomas Carlyle. No. III. Downing-street. Chapman and Hall.

CARLYLE'S eloquence should be ominous for the country. Is it not a sign of national decay when men grow eloquent with the spectacle of wrongdoing engendered and permitted by public blindness and infatuation? Was it not to a falling Troy that Cassandra prophesied and Laocœon urged his warnings? Was it not a falling Greece that made Demosthenes eloquent, and Cataline that inspired the most brilliant outburst of Cicero? Perhaps we flatter ourselves if we think that our case is not so bad as theirs. It looks ugly at present, with colonies talking big in the distance, and the rulers *de facto* talking small in the centre, and the voice of Carlyle resounding throughout. It

is an ugly sign that our day presents no appeal: there is no Alexander for a Diogenes to rebuke:—"Le roi règne et ne gouverne pas." By the grace of God, Queen Victoria is *not* ruler of this land, but only autograph-writer and warrant-signer—amanuensis to Lord John Russell in that behalf; capable of dismissing Lord John, no doubt, under his own advice, and appointing by said advice a successor; who will advise him back in turn: the Queen so passing backwards and forwards from steward to steward according to character given reciprocally. There is no appeal in that quarter. Queen Victoria cannot say with her predecessor Richard II.—"I will be your leader;" that is no longer "constitutional." There is no appeal to the Senate; the Senate can only speak and resolve. In either branch of it, it can do more than that now. If the people's House could once refuse money, it has lost that faculty of withholding: it talks itself to death, and then the money leaks out with the words. The people itself is purposeless. It has grown rather multitudinous for action. It has been educated somewhat; and what with the conscience of a little learning, and the consciousness of a vast remainder ignorance, it is perplexed in its own motives, uncertain in act, doubtful alike of rash, impulsive leaders, and of cold philosophers who preach inaction, or talk of "financial reform" as the final beatitude for a great nation: while the people is wavering, hesitating, drawing back upon itself, others profess for it, perchance "rise" for it on a Tenth of April, and, when they are put down by the respectable special constable, the people itself retreats more and more. Ashamed of what is done in its name, it feigns more emphatically than ever to show that it is doing nothing, in order that what is done may not be recorded as *its* deed. To the people, therefore, there is no appeal. Besides, Carlyle does not speak much to the people: to them he talks of the "beneficent whip," which can scarcely be called popular; and he speaks of "governing," *de haut en bas*, in a manner not very intelligible to those who see the power of Providence on earth personified in a John Russell. Carlyle, therefore, vaticinates in vain. He speaks to all and sundry, but to nobody in particular. He speaks to that incorporate power—Heaven knows what it is—which buys his pamphlets, price one shilling. To that pamphlet-buying public doth the Cicero of 1850 proclaim the forlorn condition of this great empire, whose King reigns but does not govern; whose Ministers administer, but do not govern; whose people, "the only legitimate source of all political power," emphatically abstains from asserting the demands for power put forth in its name.

Carlyle declares that the state of the public business moves him to denounce "the inefficacy of what are nicknamed our red-tape establishments, our Government offices—Colonial-office, Foreign-office, and the others in Downing-street and the neighbourhood. Of these things to him, individually, little is known; and the pamphlet-buying public, pampered as it is with blue-books, and political tracts, and information, statistical or arithmetical, will be disappointed if it proposes to buy a complete anatomy, analysis, and out-turning of those corporate autocrats in the official *cul de sac*. Nay, John Bull may exclaim, with his fat friend Sancho Panza, that the lean knight tells him no more than he knew already when he describes the length of the stick that is laid across his shoulders. Carlyle tells us how we are most shamefully, contumeliously, and dismally misgoverned by these offices that we tolerate in Downing-street: which we knew before. What his pamphlet can do, if it can do anything, is to make us so supereminently conscious, so stingingly, so newly alive to what we know already, that we, really incredible and far too late as it may seem, may at least rise up and, as he says, "*do something*":—

"To all men it is evident that the social interests of one hundred and fifty millions of us depend on the mysterious industry there carried on; and likewise that the dissatisfaction with it is great, universal, and continually increasing in intensity,—in fact, mounting, we might say, to the pitch of settled despair.

"Every colony, every agent for a matter colonial, has his tragic to tell you of his sad experiences in the Colonial-office; what blind obstructions, fatal indolences, pedantries, stupidities, on the right and on the left, he had to do battle with; what a world-wide jungle of red-tape, inhabited by doleful creatures, deaf or nearly so to human reason or entreaty, he had entered on; and how he paused in amazement, almost in despair; passionately appealed now to this doleful creature, now to that, and to the dead red-tape jungle, and to the living universe

itself, and to the voices and to the silences;—and on the whole found that it was an adventure, in sorrowful fact, equal to the fabulous ones by old knights-errant against dragons and wizards in enchanted wildernesses and waste howling solitudes; not achievable except by nearly superhuman exercise of all the four cardinal virtues, and unexpected favour of the special blessing of Heaven. His adventure achieved or found unachievable, he has returned with experiences new to him in the affairs of men. What this Colonial-office, inhabiting the head of Downing-street, really *was*, and had to do, or try doing, in God's practical earth, he could not by any means precisely get to know; believes that it does not itself in the least precisely know. Believes that nobody knows;—that it is a mystery, a kind of heathen myth;—and stranger than any piece of the old mythological Pantheon; for it practically presides over the destinies of many millions of living men."

Such is his report of the Colonial-office, and so of the rest—Home-office and Foreign-office; of which we hear less, Carlyle thinks, because the colonies excite more attention just now. The more probable reason is, that the Home-office is really, on the whole, less absurdly administered, and that, if the genius of the Foreign-office is mischievous, it is less foolish than that perverse sprite which abides at the very bottom of Downing-street. Nevertheless, the Foreign-office is the mischievous mystery that he describes:—

"How it stands with the Foreign-office, again, one still less knows. Seizures of Sapienza, and the like sudden appearances of Britain in the character of Hercules-Harlequin, waving, with big bully voice, her huge sword of sharpness over field-mice, and in the air making horrid circles (horrid catherine-wheels and death discs of metallic terror from said huge sword), to see how they will like it,—do, from time to time, astonish the world, in a not pleasant manner. Hercules-Harlequin, the Attorney Triumphant, the World's Busybody: none of these are parts this nation has a turn for; she, if you consulted her, would rather *not* play these parts, but another! Seizures of Sapienza, correspondences with Sotomayor, remonstrances to Otho, King of Athens, fleets hanging by their anchor in behalf of the Majesty of Portugal; and, in short, the whole, or, at present, very nearly the whole, of that industry of protocolling, diplomatising, remonstrating, admonishing, and 'having the honour to be,'—has sunk justly in public estimation to a very low figure.

"For, in fact, it is reasonably asked, what vital interest has England in any cause now deciding itself in foreign parts? Once there was a Papistry and Protestantism, important as life eternal and death eternal; more lately there was an interest of civil order and horrors of the French Revolution, important at least as rent-roll and preservation of the game; but now what is there? No cause in which any god or man of this British nation can be thought to be concerned. Sham kingship, now recognised, and even self-recognised everywhere to be sham, wrestles and struggles with mere ballot-box anarchy; not a pleasant spectacle to British minds."

Great Britain, says the writer, would be better without a "protocolling establishment"—less dragged into harm and expense, which is true. But "if this is the fact, why not treat it as such?" Aye, that is just the question; but the "admitting it to be so" is precisely the thing that is *not* done, and not, it would seem likely, to be done. Carlyle talks of Sir Robert Peel as the man to enter the great Augean stable of Downing-street corruption and abuse, who must "get down at once to the actual pavement" of that national structure, and "ascertain what the thing is and was before dung accumulated in it;" which is true: but, if we have no other resort than Peel, it is hopeless as true; for Peel, it is said, has retired from business. Political reform without this reform of Downing-street is "a naught and a mere mockery." But who shall undertake it? It is really "an heroic work, and cannot be done by histrios and dexterous talkers having the honour to be: it is a heavy and appalling work, and at the starting of it especially will require Herculean men." But where *are* your Herculean men?—

"The state itself, not in Downing-street alone, but in every department of it, has altered much from what it was in past times; and it will again have to alter very much, to alter, I think, from top to bottom, if it means to continue existing in the times that are now coming and come!

"The state, left to shape itself by dim pedantries and traditions, without distinctness of conviction or purpose, beyond that of helping itself over the difficulty of the hour, has become, instead of a luminous vitality, permeating with its light all provinces of our affairs, a most monstrous agglomerate of inanities, as little adapted for the actual wants of a modern community as the worst citizen need wish. The thing it is doing is by no means the thing we want to have done. What we want! Let the dullest British man endeavour to raise in his mind this question, and ask himself, in sincerity, what the British nation wants at this time. Is it to have, with endless jargoning, debating, motioning, and counter-motioning, a settlement effected between the Honourable Mr. This and the Honourable Mr. That, as to their respective pretensions to ride the high horse? Really, it is unimportant which of them ride it. Going upon

past experience, long continued now, I should say with brevity, 'Either of them—neither of them.' If our Government is to be a no-Government, what is the matter who administers it?"

Not in this official class of officials or ex-officials must we look for our official man; nor is he to be eliminated by constitutional processes:—

"A mighty question, indeed! Who shall be Premier, and take in hand the 'rudder of Government,' otherwise called the 'spigot of taxation'; shall it be the Honourable Felix Parvulus, or the Right Honourable Felicissimus Zero? By our electioneering and Hansard debates, and ever-enduring tempest of jargon that goes on everywhere, we manage to settle that; to have it declared, with no bloodshed except insignificant blood from the nose in hustings-time, but with immense beer-shed, and inkshed, and explosion of nonsense, which darkens all the air, that the Right Honourable Zero is to be the man. That we firmly settle; Zero, all shivering with rapture and with terror, mounts into the high saddle; cramps himself on, with knees, heels, hands, and feet; and the horse gallops—whither it lists. That the Right Honourable Zero should attempt controlling the horse—alas, alas, he, sticking on with beak and claws, is too happy if the horse will only gallop anywhither, and not throw him. Measure, polity, plan, or scheme of public good or evil, is not in the head of Felicissimus; except, if he could but devise it, some measure that would please his horse for the moment, and encourage him to go with softer paces, godward or devilward as it might be, and save Felicissimus's leather, which is fast wearing. This is what we call a Government, in England, for nearly two centuries now."

What then to do? "More important," as Carlyle says, "than the past history of these offices in Downing-street is the question of their future existence." The great thing to get is "able men;" the great thing to eschew is dulness and stupidity and "darkness" of any sort. Yet we cannot, with the writer, assume once for all that human intellect—the ratiocinative faculty—is the embodiment of God upon earth, and that the ignorance of man, or darkness, is "the Devil." Intellect for its purposes, instinct for its purposes, impulses of affections as great as either; but all of these are human faculties; and all, if God there is—as we believe—are subject to God. If we rely solely upon intellect, then truly can we but clinch the nail that has been driven in, to rivet our bondage faster; for it is by forgetting the influences beyond the pale of intellect,—the affections and the forces, that must, and do, and will govern the world,—influences which are to be called forth and directed by something that may go parallel and harmoniously with intellect, but yet is not identical with intellect nor inferior to it,—it is by forgetting these powers that exist amongst us, and will act, forgotten or remembered, that the men of our day have lost the faculty of commanding the affections of the people, or of using their powers as the bodily instrument with which intellect works. Therefore is it that the Demosthenes-Cicero of our time speaks not to the ears of the Senate or people, with the actual sound of living voice, but pokes a tool-called pen into the unsentient ink, and casts forth his jeremiads to a pamphlet-buying public who buy, read, and regret—and there it ends.

Still it is true that we want abler men in Parliament—men placed there for their ability; men of such mould as may not pass through the sieve of electoral tests or Reform-Bill qualifications. It is true that, if you look among the twenty-seven millions, you may find "diviner men" than the beadle race which is now at the head of affairs. True, that the rotten Parliament and pocket-borough system did let in, by the whim of boroughmongers, men not only diviner, but men governed by the personal impulses which, after all, originate great human actions. The substitute for that is Carlyle's point of the wedge for reform in Downing-street:—

"The proposal is, that secretaries under and upper, that all manner of changeable or permanent servants in the Government-offices shall be selected without reference to their power of getting into Parliament; that, in short, the Queen shall have power of nominating the half-dozen or half-score officers of the Administration, whose presence is thought necessary in Parliament, to official seats there, without reference to any constituency but her own only, which, of course, will mean her Prime Minister's. A very small encroachment on the present constitution of Parliament; offering the minimum of change in present methods, and I almost think a maximum in results to be derived therefrom. The Queen nominates John Thomas (the fittest man she, much-inquiring, can hear tell of in her three kingdoms) President of the Poor-law Board, Under Secretary of the Colonies, under or, perhaps, even upper secretary of what she and her Premier find suitablest for a working head so eminent, a talent so precious; and grants him, by her direct authority, seat and vote in Parliament so long as he holds that office. Upper Secretaries, having more to do in Parliament, and being so bound to be in favour there,

would, I suppose, at least till new times and habits come, be expected to be chosen from among the *People's* members as at present."

NEW GERMAN BOOK ON SHAKSPEARE.

Shakspeare. By G. G. Gervinus. 3 vols. 8vo. London: D. Nutt. THE Germans arrogate to themselves immense superiority in the critical appreciation of Shakspeare, and Englishmen have somewhat too easily acquiesced in those claims. Although we think German criticism has, on the whole, as much darkened and confused this subject as it has enlightened and simplified it, we cannot withhold the praise of painstaking investigation, and serious thought. Vicious metaphysics and, as a consequence, vicious aesthetics, combined with an inordinate love of rhetoric, have displaced the real subject, and given us ambitious verbiage where we needed calm inquiry and keen perception of poetic truth; nevertheless the reverence felt for Shakspeare has been so deep, and the patience with which his works have been studied so steady, that, with all deductions, we must admit the inquiries have not been without valuable results. Here is the last and, by many degrees, the best specimen. Innumerable as the writings on this subject are, they have in no sense made this one superfluous. English industry has gone far towards clearing up the manifold obscurities in which every section of this great topic is involved; and Gervinus, dexterously availing himself of all the results hitherto obtained, steers clear of dry antiquarianism on the one hand, and of cloudy philosophism on the other. He has written an eminently instructive book. It brings much and suggests much.

The name of Gervinus was a guarantee. There is no literary history to be placed beside his "German Literature,"—a work as admirable for its criticisms as for its honest exhaustive erudition. The qualities which make that work conspicuous in its class shine, in this work on Shakspeare, in undiminished lustre. It has not, indeed, the glowing rhetoric and felicitous phrase of A. W. Schlegel, but it is free from his wilful adoration and shallow philosophy. It has not the occasional acuteness of Tieck, but it is free from his extravagancies. Above all, it is free from the ponderous philosophism of Herman Ulrici, and the scholastic "profoundity" of Rötcher. Not in detached *aperçus*, nor in brilliant epigrams, does the merit of this work consist; but in the calm equable light of a clear and meditative mind, which, thrown upon the whole subject, brings it out distinctly. Every step you take, something of the haze which hovered over the subject gradually disappears; you close the book with the conviction that you have gained a clearer and more consistent idea of Shakspeare than you had before.

Something of this is, doubtless, owing to the historical treatment, whereby each question is in its proper place, and receives light from the others. The *a priori* method is no less vain in criticism than in science. Gervinus properly begins with Shakspeare's early life at Stratford. He does not pretend to give an accurate picture; he knows that every account of the poet's life must be a matter of guesswork and inference from a few scanty, insignificant facts. But, taking all that English industry and sagacity have discovered in the shape of fact and probability, he therefrom constructs a programme of the poet's life, such as it stands out before his mind. Then follows an admirable chapter on "Venus and Adonis," and "Lucrece," considered as the first-fruits of the Stratford period. After that we see Shakspeare in London. The dramatist begins. While depicting, with great power, the state of society and of literature at that period, Gervinus introduces dissertations on the early dramatists and on the early stage. Then follow historical and æsthetic criticisms on the plays of the first period—"Titus," "Pericles," "Henry VI.," "Comedy of Errors," and "Taming the Shrew;" the second period—"The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Love's Labour Lost," "All's Well that Ends Well," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Merchant of Venice," the "Richards," "Henrys," "King John," and "Merry Wives." The discussion of biographical significance of the sonnets closes the second volume. The third volume contains the third period of his style—"As You Like It," "Much Ado," "Twelfth Night," "Measure for Measure," "Othello," "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Lear," "Cymbeline." The fourth volume, not yet published, will contain the remaining plays, and the general characteristics of Shakspeare's style.

By the admirable use of historical criticism, applied to these plays, he is enabled to place much that was dubious in a clear and satisfactory light, and not only to lead us to a better understanding of the plays themselves, but also to a clearer view of the genesis of Shakspeare's poetical and dramatic style. That he could not have done this had not the materials been furnished by English critics is to be understood; his merit lies in the thorough grasp of these materials, and the adroitness of their application. There is a fulness of knowledge and a largeness of conception in this work which render it very delightful. It is a whole, not a collection of fragmentary remarks. It has grown up out of long meditation and masterly workmanship; and in this sense it is peculiarly worthy of the great subject it deals with. A pure historical spirit runs through its pages, which, massing facts as they are found to hand, deduces conclusions from them without stopping to splinter the narrative with bickerings and sarcasms—without drawing away your attention from the main question to any irrelevant matters. It is astonishing how little polemical matter there is in its pages, although discussing a subject upon which scarcely two writers agree. Leaving to others the task of disputing, he rarely disturbs the even tenor of his way; but, having facts to state and views to develop, he marches steadily onward to his goal.

One thing the English reader will assuredly miss, and that is the fine discriminating analyses of character in its involuntary self-betrays—the glimpses of passion—the twistings and torturings of sophism—the subtle penetration of motives which abound in Shakspeare, and which our critics have from the earliest times delighted to point out. The acuteness and gusto of Coleridge, Hazlitt, Lamb, and others, which arrest attention upon details of exquisite beauty, will not be found in Gervinus, who eschews details, and whose style of criticism is avowedly borrowed from that celebrated critique on "Hamlet" which Göthe gave in "Meister," and which Gervinus holds as the exemplar of all fruitful criticism. Nor will the student of dramatic art gain any insight from these volumes. "The Edinburgh Review," in a recent paper on Shakspeare's critics, expressed its dissatisfaction at the singular neglect of the great dramatist's excellence as a theatrical artist by all critics, and pointed out how every one had busied himself with explaining Shakspeare's art as that of a poet only, not of a dramatic poet. Gervinus is more open to this reproach than most critics. On the other hand he is alive to the absurdity of supposing—as Göthe and others suppose—Shakspeare's plays to be unfit for representation:—

"Shakspeare's works," he says, "can, properly speaking, only be understood in representation. For that and that only were they written. The separation between dramatic art and theatre art, which has with us damaged both, was not known in those days. The great difficulty in understanding any of his plays arises from the fact of our reading, and not seeing, them. For crowded as they are with poetical beauties, psychological traits, wise aphorisms, and allusions to persons and things of the time, the attention is distracted by these details, which render it difficult to grasp or to enjoy the whole. But when they are represented by players equal to the task, here a division of labour steps in which makes the one art more easily appreciable and enjoyable by means of the other. Players who have rightly conceived their parts save us from the terrible labour in reading of keeping perhaps twenty different characters separate and distinct; and, to understand both them and their mutual relations, the appearance, carriage, language, and gesture of each individual actor explain to us, without any effort, as in a picture, the figures and pivots of the action."

All this is indisputable, and could never have been doubted had not our love for Shakspeare made us such students of his plays that we read and reread them after having seen them performed (i.e., after having gained a distinct idea through the representation), and then, forgetful of the benefit derived from representation, we picture to ourselves how much better the plays would be if they could be acted by ideal actors! But, to gain an adequate idea of the value of stage representation, let any one recal a perusal of Beaumont and Fletcher or Ben Jonson—that is, of plays he has not seen represented—and the want of distinct apprehension of their significance as works of art will at once suggest the true explanation. Gervinus not only maintains his thesis with respect to the actable plays, but also with respect to that most difficult of all plays, "The Midsummer Night's Dream." Hazlitt said, and said truly, that when the play was acted it was "converted from a delightful fiction into a dull pantomime. All that is finest in the

play is lost in the representation." But his reason is bad:—"Poetry and the stage do not agree well together. That which was merely an airy shape, a dream, a passing thought, immediately becomes an unmanageable reality." That depends on the reality: with proper actors, and with children trained as they were in Shakspeare's age, the piece, as Gervinus contends, would gain by representation. "Fairies," says Hazlitt, "are not incredible, but fairies six feet high are so." In Shakspeare's time the fairies were not six feet high, but deft and tiny children; we have lost the power of representing "The Midsummer Night's Dream," but we must not forget that it was originally intended for representation, and for nothing else.

To sum up in a sentence what we think of this work: it is a compact body of the well-sifted results of English research and German speculation, arranged historically so that each fact is in its proper place, and forming altogether the best introduction and companion to Shakspeare which has yet been published; not a brilliant but a solid book.

AMERICAN BOOKS.

The Life of Mahomet. By Washington Irving. *Emerson's Representative Men.* *Autobiography of Franklin, published verbatim from the original MS., by his grandson, W. T. Franklin.* Edited by Jared Sparks. H. G. Bohn.

THESE three specimens of Mr. Bohn's new and elegant series of American reprints are published at a price so trifling that one is surprised to find the publisher know them to be profitable; but it is a price which must set at rest for ever the question of American copyright. The sooner the better. Hard as it may be upon Messrs. Murray and Bentley, who have given liberal sums to American authors on the faith of their copyright, the public at large are really interested to a very serious degree in the decisive settlement of the question, which will be the rapidest mode of bringing round the long-desired international copyright. America has plundered England (and impoverished herself by so doing, for she has stultified her own national genius) with shameless impunity; but as soon as the "reciprocity" ceases to be "all on one side" she will bestir herself to right the injustice.

Washington Irving's work is so charmingly written that no one will lay it down unread; but it is not equal to the magnificence of its subject. Mahomet was really one of the "divine men," a man in whom the luminous power of impassioned intellect rose to the clearness of "inspiration;" the minister of great ideas; the born legislator of nations. His life is of profound interest. Goethe, in the flush and potency of youth, conceived a drama of which Mahomet was the hero, wherein he proposed to depict:—First, the dawning upon the prophet's soul of that clearness which was inspiration; and then, as he mingled with the world, and strove to work out his ideal amidst the perplexed realities around him, the gradual development of baser and wordly aims, ending in fraud, cruelty, tyranny, and death. There, indeed, lies the tragedy—the ruin of a noble mind, the slow but fatal ascension of what is earthly in the soul, and the decline of what is heavenly. No one was ever more capable of executing such a subject in all its grandeur and subtlety; but Goethe allowed it to remain a mere conception, as he did with so many other noble plans. Washington Irving's book is animated by no such spirit. He is too far seeing to fall in with the old trash about "imposture." He feels that no "impostor" could have spoken enduring words to millions—given an answer to their deepest questions, an issue to their most exalted aspirations, life to their souls. But that strong religious and political sentiment which ought to animate a biographical work on Mahomet is absent.

Of Emerson, we must speak hereafter.

The Life of Franklin is the first authentic edition which has yet been published in this country. The old book is a mere translation of a French translation. Franklin, though a worthy man, and in many respects an important man, is no hero of ours, and is but a shabby kind of "great man" for a nation to be proud of. He was unquestionably "prudent;" but our life is not a Rule of Three. If the universe were nothing but a retail shop, Franklin was the man to stand behind its counter—an exemplar of prudence, frugality, honesty, and independence. No mean virtues these; but not the whole of our virtues—not

our manhood. Franklin's defects, however, are rather deficiencies than positive faults: for what he was he is worth studying, and this autobiography should be read.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Emperor Julian and his Generation. An Historical Picture. By Augustus Neander, D.D. Translated by G. V. Cox, M.A. J. W. Parker.

Julian the Apostate will always remain an historical problem. Dr. Neander, with the erudition of his countrymen, has, however, aided us but little towards a solution. The work is heavy, because deficient in distinctness of purpose. He has attempted to picture Julian's character and Julian's epoch, but has failed in both. The remarks on the epoch are discursive; but without substance: a more accurate acquaintance with Greek philosophy would have helped to make the picture clearer, and would have prevented some very rash statements. Strauss's celebrated pamphlet, *Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cæsaren* (which the translator is mistaken in calling a mere *jeu d'esprit*—it is an historical picture having a polemical object—), is far more satisfactory, because it really does represent several if not all the aspects of the subject. In Neander we see nothing but notes towards a monograph.

The Will of God. By the Rev. G. G. Lynn, M.A., Incumbent of Hampton Wick.

This sermon, written by the brother of the eloquent and daring authoress of *Azeth*, will to the timid seem bold from its simplicity and truth. It is a calm, earnest vindication of the study of the laws of nature from that mistaken piety which denounces the study of any law of God but such as is recorded in the Scriptures—which sets up the Bible as the one sufficient teacher of all things concerning man and the universe. Mr. Lynn claims for science its rightful position. He urges us to study the laws of God as recorded in the material universe and in our own complex organisation, and to be guided by the results of that study no less imperatively than by the Bible itself. "The first duty of man," as he says, "as an individual is obviously to acquire knowledge of himself and God's laws in whatever record these are contained. His next duty, consequent upon this, is to live agreeably to the teaching of those laws. And men may rest assured that the divine will is only performed by them in all its completeness when they act even as God himself acts."

Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs of their Lives and Actions. By Edmund Lodge, F.S.A. Vol. V. Henry G. Bohn.

We have merely to chronicle the appearance of the fifth volume of this admirable work—which has passed the necessity of being reviewed—and to say a word in favour of its topography.

Truth Seeker (A Quarterly Review) in Literature, Philosophy, and Religion. Part VI., April, 1850. London: J. Chapman.

The object of this periodical is, in great measure, similar to our own. It has been in existence some years, and has maintained during that period the search after truth with uncompromising ardour and philosophical impartiality. Of late it has assumed the more imposing form of a quarterly, though the monthly issue still continues; and it is very much improved in size, paper, type, and general appearance, while, as our advertising columns will show, its price puts it within the reach of the humblest purchaser. In the present number the question between Mr. Forster and Mr. Macaulay, arising out of the latter's expression on the character of William Penn, is vigorously and fairly handled. "Woman in Our Time," and "Facts and Reflections on Law Reform," are articles deserving attention; while "Emerson's Representative Men," and "The Machinery Question," betoken in the writers ample acquaintance with the arcana of transcendentalism, and power to deal with that mighty social problem—the adjustment of the apparently conflicting interests of capital and labour. There are two articles to which we may direct especial attention—one by "Caliban," "Letters on Carlyle," which breathes the true spirit of hero-worship; and one by W. Maccall, on "National Missions," which possesses much undoubted power and eloquence. Even those friends of advancement who cannot agree with all the conclusions of the review will be glad to possess a work animated in every page by the love of truth and an earnest desire to extend its blessings.

Sanitary Economy; its Principles and Practice; and its Moral Influence on the Progress of Civilisation. Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on sanitary matters during the last few years, such a book as this was much wanted for the use of persons who wish to make themselves acquainted with the more striking results of the various parliamentary and scientific inquiries on the subject, and who have no time to pore over blue books and ephemeral pamphlets in search of the information they require. All this they will find here digested into a very interesting and useful volume. We are glad to see the question of sanitary economy exciting so much attention among all classes of politicians; not only on account of the direct good which will result from their efforts in that direction, but because legislation in favour of sanitary reform tends so much to demonstrate the absurdity of the doctrine that *laissez faire* is a sufficient cure for all social evils.

Revelations of the Life of Prince Talleyrand. Edited from the Papers of the late M. Colmeche, Private Secretary to the Prince. Second Edition. Henry Colburn.

This agreeable collection of anecdotes has a certain authority, proceeding from the private secretary of the

Prince; but that authority is somewhat lessened by the equivocal and "got-up" look of the general narrative. It is too much like French memoirs to pass unsuspected but let us hasten to add that it possesses the charm of French memoirs—vivacity, piquancy, and knowledge of the world. Not for a moment does the interest flag.

The Old Judge; or, Life in a Colony. By Sam Slick. Second Edition. H. Colburn.

This is by far the most variously amusing of Sam Slick's later works. He is so well known in England that we need only chronicle the appearance of this second edition. In France they have just awakened to a perception of his quaint and peculiar humour, as we see by a recent article in *La Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Life for Life; or, the Law written in the Heart. A brief Tale for 1850. John Olivier.

A story, pleasantly and even elegantly written, to justify capital punishment, by showing that the instinct of life for life is so imperative that, if society does not claim the vengeance which is due for murder, the murderer's own conscience forces him in suicide to wreak that vengeance on himself. The great question will not be much assisted by this; but, if the philosophy of the book be trivial, the talent indicated in several passages is such as to promise better books on better subjects.

Letter and Spirit: a Discourse on Modern Philosophical Spiritualism in its Relation to Christianity. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Jackson and Walford.

Dr. Vaughan is an honour to his party, for to the most fervent piety he unites the most admirable tolerance and far-sightedness. In the work mentioned above, as in his former works, we are peculiarly struck with two points—mastery of the subject and candid admission of the strength of his adversaries. His faith is so well grounded, and so completely answers to all the demands of his reason, that he can afford to see where others really are strong; hence the noble fairness of his statement. In the present tractate he discusses the question of Letter against Spirit. The blindness of adhering to the letter he plainly and forcibly states, siding with modern "Spiritualists" in all their demands for the free exercise of reason. Nevertheless, he still upholds the letter, contending—and in our opinion with perfect consistency—that if you destroy the letter of Christianity you destroy the Christian religion. Robbed of its historical evidence, Christianity only becomes one of the many religions of the world,—the best, perhaps, and most suited to our wants, but still wanting the peculiar sanction of divine authority which it has hitherto been held to enjoy. That is an existing opinion. But it is one against which Dr. Vaughan stoutly combats. We cannot here discuss the subject; but we must admire the spirit in which the argument is conducted. One observation alone may be permitted us, that is, that the opinion just enunciated is not so modern as Dr. Vaughan and others imagine. It was the opinion of Constantine at one period of his life, and is thus finely stated by Themistius in the fourth century:—"God has implanted in the nature of all men a talent or capacity for religion, but has left the manner of worshipping Him to the will of each individual. All religions had but one object, but the way that led to it was different in each, and according to the constitution of human nature it must necessarily be so." [Themist. *Orat. V.*, quoted by Neander.] To us it is unquestionable that all religions are divine, or that none are. Dr. Vaughan, believing in the literal as well as in the spiritual portion of the Scriptures, sets forth his view with masterly power, and from his starting-point he is unanswerable.

Historic Pages from the French Revolution of Feb., 1848. By M. Louis Blanc. Published at the *Weekly Tribune* office.

A Catechism of Socialism. By M. Louis Blanc. *Ibid.*

These are translations of Louis Blanc's writings, executed with care, and published as penny tracts.

Junius: including Letters by the same writer under other signatures; to which are added, his Confidential Correspondence with Mr. Wilkes, and his Private Letters to Mr. H. S. Woodfall. New and enlarged edition. By John Wade. Vol. I., containing the work as originally published, with illustrative notes. (Bohn's Standard Library.) H. G. Bohn.

Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady. By Theresa Pulsky; with an historical Introduction by Francis Pulsky. Two vols. Colburn.

History of Ancient Art among the Greeks. Translated from the German of Winckelmann. One vol. John Chapman.

The Angel World, and other Poems. By P. J. Bailey, author of "Festus." W. Pickering.

Iomeric Ballads, with Translations and Notes. By the late William Maginn, LL.D. J. W. Parker.

The Purpose of Existence popularly considered in Relation to the Origin, Development, and Destiny of the Human Mind. John Chapman.

Intérêt et Principal: Discussion entre M. Proudhon et M. Bastiat, sur l'intérêt des capitaux. London: W. Jeffs.

Pages d'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848. Par Louis Blanc. London: W. Jeffs.

Application de la Philosophie Positive. Par E. Littré. London: Dulau and Co.

Les Mystères du Peuple. Vols. 1 and 2. Par Eugene Sue. London: W. Jeffs.

The Life of Field-Marshal his Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent; with Extracts from his Correspondence, and Original Letters never before published. By Erskine Neale, M.A., Rector of Kirton, and Chaplain to Earls Huntingdon and Spencer; Author of "The Closing Scene," &c.

Partfalia.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—
GORTHE.

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF LIFE.

By G. H. LEWES,

AUTHOR OF "RANTHORPE," "ROSE, BLANCHE, AND VIOLET," &c.

FIRST EPISODE:

THE INITIATION OF FAITH.

CHAP. I.

THE YOUNG SCEPTIC.

It was a stormy night in June: the rain was driven by fierce and fitful gusts against the windows of an old and gloomy chateau, which stood, a little removed from the seashore, at about a league distance from the small town of Briec, on the coast of Brittany.

Wild and desolate was the aspect of this chateau. It stood between an almost endless expanse of heath on the one side, and the restless ocean on the other. Travellers as they passed under its shadow felt a strange and ghostly awe steal over them. The peasants dared not approach it after sunset; for they looked upon it as the abode of accursed spirits.

If without it looked cheerless, within it presented a scene which would have arrested the eye of a Rembrandt, and engaged the profoundest attention of a moralist. In a vast saloon, which ran the whole length of the habitable portion of the chateau, three persons were assembled. A log blazed upon the hearth, and sent a reddish glare into the centre of the room, which, for the most part, was steeped in dark massive shadows. The single lamp, on a small table beside the hearth, only served to light up a few yards of vast space.

As well as the glare of the fire and the pale glimmer of the lamp enabled objects to be distinguished, the room bore an aspect of faded grandeur inexpressibly saddening to look upon. The furniture was in the style of Louis XIII., and had once been sumptuous. It now wore an appearance of forlorn splendour, its remains of beauty and of costliness plainly speaking of the indigence which permitted its faded condition. The frames of the glasses, the ornaments of the mantelpieces, the style of the old tapestry,—every detail bespoke ancient luxury; while their present broken, discoloured state bespoke either pinching poverty or fanatical reverence for every vestige of the past.

Seated by that small table beside the hearth was an aged lady, whose appearance arrested the eye by the grandeur and mildness with which she wore her eighty years. Much exceeding the ordinary stature of woman, and scarcely bent by age, her grey hair, simply banded over her brow, heightening the serenity which smiled upon her face, it was impossible to gaze at her without feeling that reverence we instinctively accord to the majesty of age. Old age is always hideous or grand: a sublimity or a deformity. Here it assumed all its grandeur.

By the aid of the lamp and her spectacles she was reading with rapt devotion that Bible of the Catholics—the "Imitation of Jesus Christ." It was a volume which had been treasured in the family for upwards of a century; and was now giving strength and consolation to her, as in her youth she had seen it give strength in hours of weakness, and consolation in hours of trouble, to her mother and her grandmother before her.

How calm and placid her face as she reads! Is it a mask? The soul beneath, is it—or has it been—turbulent with remorse? Have sorrows tortured, have passions stained, has sin disgraced the youth of that woman now so calm; and is she, in her age, seeking with repentant piety the consolation she had disdained in the high-flushed insolence of youth? Eighty summers have sunned it; the storms and turmoils of eighty years,—some of which were turbulent with the Revolution, the Reign of Terror, the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire,—these have passed over her head, and have not altered the serenity of her brow. She has loved, been loved; wived, borne children, and bravely played her part through life. Sorrows she has had; but none which were not free from that most galling point in sorrow—remorse! Never has she swerved from the path of duty. Never has she poured into a confessor's ear the agitated avowal of a single fall into temptation. Her head has been unmolested by doubts, her heart untroubled by guilty passions. Her course has been a straight one. It has not, indeed been splendid with triumphs, for it has not been agitated with passions; it has excited little envy, no malice; it has been a quiet and beautiful existence in the eye of God and man: a life of duty, placid and happy as the mountain rivulet that creeps its unnoticed route amidst falling avalanches and impending crags.

La Baronne de Fayol has led an unostentatious life, and a happy one. In an age of gallantry her heart never wandered from her husband; in an age of infidelity her mind had never listened to a doubt. Seeing the misery others drew down upon their heads, she rejoiced daily, she said, "that she

had always been strong enough to walk in the ways of Him whose ways are pleasantness, and all whose paths are peace."

And yet this pure, serene, blameless woman sought for strength and consolation in "L'Imitation!" Let it not seem strange. Every step was, she knew, a step towards her tomb; and, although awaiting death with the calmness of faith, still her innocent conscience would whisper that she had not lived so pure and high a life as she might have lived. Just as the timid girl whispers her childish sins into her confessor's ear, terrified at their enormity, so did this pure and simple creature imagine herself as sinful as the rest of the world.

Opposite the baronne sat a quiet, dreamy boy, with eager eyes and thoughtful face. He was about fifteen. His hands were folded in his lap; his eyes were fixed upon his grandmother in mingled reverence and curiosity. He was puzzled at the effect of that book upon her; and was speculating as to the cause. Occasionally he stole a glance at his uncle, who, with measured military tread, paced up and down the whole length of the saloon caressing his moustache by way of occupation, and now and then pausing to listen to the rush of rain against the windows.

The Baron de Fayol, eldest son of the old lady sitting beside the hearth, was a type of the Breton nobility in all respects save one, and that was his infidelity. An infidel Breton is almost a greater rarity than a Republican Breton; but the baron had adopted in his youth the philosophy then in vogue, and, adopting it more as a prejudice than as a conviction, threw into it all that obstinacy for which his countrymen are famous. This it was which made his chateau a terror to the peasants! The baron had served in the army; but never under a Republican standard. His religion was fidelity to the throne and to his caste. Even the lustre of Napoleon's deeds, which dazzled Europe and bewildered France, extorted from him no word of sympathy: and, although he had now ceased to combat the emperor openly—as he had combated him in the Chouan warfare—he steadily refused his assistance to the "usurper."

The baron was an infidel. Do not suppose he looked at all like a thinking man. In fact, his appearance was heavy, somewhat clownish. With an honest soldier-like face, large hands covered with hair, and a voice which seemed as if he laboured under a perpetual hoarseness, he did not strike you as a brilliant disciple of Voltaire; but he made up in steady obstinacy what he might want in wit.

He paced up and down the room, his figure now emerging from the darkness into the light, and then again passing into the shadows, and his heavy tread falling with the regularity of a clock; while Charlemagne, a noble hound stretched before the hearth, watched with calm eye the movements of his master.

Not a word was spoken.

For boy and man the old lady silently prayed: prayed that their hearts might be opened to the Word, and that, before she passed away from this earth, she might have the bliss of seeing them rescued from the slough of unbelief.

The sullen roaring of the waves, the lashing of the rain, mingled with the crackling of the logs on the fire, and the regular tread of the baron passing to and fro, were the orchestral accompaniments to this scene strangely affecting the silent wondering boy.

At last the clock struck ten. Without waiting to finish his promenade across the room, the baron suddenly swerved and walked up to the table. He there lighted a bed-candle, as if he had been wearily expecting the clock to strike, and, placing it beside the baronne, said,

"Good night, mother."

She paused in the middle of her chapter, as he had paused in the middle of his walk, and, leisurely putting up her spectacles, closed the book, and pressed her lips on the forehead of her son, who stooped to receive the salute.

The boy sprang into her arms and covered her with kisses. Charlemagne thrust his head into her hand, and was patted gently. Taking the candle, she led the way; and in half an hour the eyes of the household were closed in sleep—except those of the young Armand, who, lying on his back, now contemplated the moon, which shone in through the window.

The storm had passed over, and the moon was "shining with a quiet light." The roar of the tumbling waves was still audible, mingled with the sighing of the wind round the tower where he slept. Nature was solemnly forced upon the boy's attention, and he was speculating on the unfathomable mysteries of creation.

His condition was singular. He had reached the age of fifteen without having received the slightest religious instruction; nay, with having, from infancy upwards, received a decidedly antagonistic and irreligious education. He had been brought up amongst the followers of the Encyclopedists: philosophers who, without the earnestness and ability of their masters, pushed their doctrines to extravagant extremes; teachers who dethroned God to put a phrase in his place; thinkers to whom this universe was no mystery at all, as everything could be explained by "Matter and Motion"; men who, disregarding the instincts of their souls, declared religion to be a fraud—the invention of crafty priests, supported only by the terrors and prejudices of the credulous, and not the spontaneous product of the human soul—the instinct imperiously moving the whole being of man.

From his childhood upwards, Armand heard the name of priest as synonymous with hypocrisy; and religion as the most desolating of earthly

evils. The intolerance of priesthoods was frequently pointed out to him, and it excited in him an intolerance against them. He had fierce longings for reprisals. He would gladly have burnt Calvin for burning Servetus!

His father's *salon* was crowded with wits and philosophers, men of science, and sceptical abbés. From them he heard but one language. The reaction which had followed revolutionary excesses, and which had reinstated the Church in her property, if not in her moral influence, made all her antagonists more aggressive than ever; and Armand's father belonged to the antagonists.

In such an element religious belief was of course out of the question. Yet even here, in the soul of this boy, the original instinct showed itself; and philosophers might have learned that their fundamental assumption was based upon a *false* theory of human nature. He manifested an irresistible craving for belief. His mind was for ever struggling with the problems of existence; and even in this hotbed of religious antagonism he framed religious theories! These theories were absurd enough, for the most part; mingled with gleams of some profounder thought—as the speculations of children mostly are—but they were utterances which a sound philosophy should not have slighted; they were the evidences of that fact which the philosophers recklessly denied—the fact that there is what has been happily called *un fibre religieuse* in the human heart.

Armand's speculative tendencies were greatly fostered by all he heard at his father's fireside, where metaphysical and philosophical questions were discussed by all kinds of visitors; and, although a considerable amount of nonsense and levity mingled in these discussions, yet they gave a stimulus to the young philosopher's mind.

On one occasion, when Benjamin Constant was present, they brought forward the topic of the origin of evil, and Constant said:—

"I remember meeting at the Hague a certain Chevalier Revel, who was wont to maintain with great eloquence that this universe is the work of a being who *died in the midst of his creation*: whose plans were vast and magnificent, but whose death interrupted their execution."

"What a grand idea!" said the colonel.

"He thought," continued Constant, "that everything is ordained for an end which it cannot reach: the universe is the scaffolding of an unfinished palace!"

"How did he make out that?"

"By referring to our own consciousness. We feel that we are destined for something, yet we can form no idea of what that something is. We are like watches without dial-plates, the wheels of which are endowed with intelligence, and continue constantly turning till worn out without once knowing *why* they turn; but we say, since I turn there must be some *object* in turning."

"Well," said a rubicund abbé, "I like Plato's notion better when he says that God alternately governs and forsakes the world. When he governs, things go on smoothly; when he forsakes it, things tend rapidly to chaos."

"For my part," said a pallid young poet, adjusting his curls, "I look on the universe as a grand poem. It is," he added solemnly, "an *Epopée*."

"But no one has *corrected the proofs!*" retorted the colonel. This sally was received with great applause, and, as is usually the case with witticisms, it closed the discussion. But Armand never forgot the wild hypothesis of the chevalier: it haunted his solitude.

His overtaken brain so far affected his health that his father sent him into the country to recover his strength; and thus was Armand domiciled in the family château in Brittany, under the care of his uncle the Baron de Fayol. On his arrival the baron let fall a deferential but significant hint to the baronne that she was in no way to interfere with the boy's religious convictions.

She gazed tenderly at her grandchild and sighed, but bowed her head in token of assent. She had obeyed all her life. Whatever might be her own convictions, she had never ventured to interfere with those of her husband or her sons; and she reaped the reward in their unalterable affection and respect. They who were pitiless towards the cant, hypocrisy, and superstition of others, never by word or look attempted to disturb her devotions. She was too good, they said, to be spoiled. So pure, so noble a woman might indulge any fancies and superstitions: they could not injure *her*.

But, though the baronne was not permitted to converse with her grandson on religion, her *example* was not to be hidden; and that was more eloquent than she could have been. The image of this grand, serene old woman, wearing her eighty years as a crown, was deeply engraven upon Armand's mind. He had never beheld the practical effect of piety before, and he saw it now in its most striking aspect. That belief could be something more than an intellectual act—that it could *beautify and fortify a life*—was now for the first time a fact in his eyes. When he compared his grandam with the aged women he had seen in Paris—rouged, withered, babbling creatures, all paint and prejudice, taking ounces of snuff, contemptible in their persons and in their lives—he could not but reverence her quiet dignity; and he perpetually asked himself, "If religion can give that serenity and that dignity, were it not enviable to be its dupe?"

Nay, more: what Armand saw operating in the individual, he also, in a less degree perhaps, saw in the mass. In coming to Brittany he came into the most religious part of Europe. There the greatest noble and the meanest peasant are equally fervent and devout. The scepticism which

threw down the altars of France never found a home in Brittany. During the excesses of the revolutionary period, when churches were demolished or desecrated, and the priests were tracked like wild beasts, it was not uncommon for the people to push out to sea in their boats, and, assembled there beneath the stars, listen to the mass which some courageous priest celebrated standing on the deck of a bark tossed upon waves whose multitudinous murmurs rose like a chorus to the solemn psalm which burst from the hearts of the believers.

Among such a people Armand could not fail to be struck with the practical effects of Faith. He had, moreover, become very intimate with the family of the Comte de Lecoëdic, where he constantly heard recitals of the Vendean and Chouan wars—the glorious exploits of Charette, Georges Cadoudal, and *Le Grand Gars*—all based upon an intense religious conviction.

But more, perhaps, than even by these, was he influenced by the youngest daughter of the Comte de Lecoëdic. Gabrielle was seventeen, and doomed! Consumption had swept away three of her sisters, and was now fast wasting the life within her. She knew it; they all knew it; yet she was as calm and happy as if her spring were but the budding of a glorious summer. She talked of death as a new birth into diviner life: endless repose upon the bosom of the Lord.

Insensibly this sapped the foundations of Armand's philosophy. Conceive a boy, whose education had repressed the instincts of his soul, and had produced a state of denial which was antagonistic to those instincts, and then conceive him passing from out of that element into one in which Belief was omnipresent in its effects. The faith which he has been taught to deride, he here learns to respect; the faith which he holds to be the cause of nothing but hypocrisy, cruelty, and discord, he here sees giving serenity, security, and heroism.

In the baronne he saw how Faith enables us to live; in Gabrielle, how Faith enables us to die!

CHAP. II.

FRANGIPOLO.

Gabrielle was seventeen, and on the strength of her seventeen years looked down upon Armand as a mere boy, so that she permitted his love—you have already guessed that he did love her?—without the least misgiving: indeed, it was so respectful and so adoring as to be inexpressibly delightful to her. Armand knew, as a fact, that she must shortly die; but he never *believed* it. He was like her in that respect. The knowledge never became a conviction. It sufficed to tinge his thoughts with a gentle melancholy, without growing into an appreciated reality. Death seemed to him as indefinite as his own immortality. Who that loves believes in death?

Armand was a great favourite with the Lecoëdics. That very want of faith which would have excluded a grown man from their intimacy, became in the boy a source of greater tenderness, for it filled them with pity, and made them excessively anxious for his conversion. They lent him books and tried to talk him over to their views: he was patient, docile, candid, but unconvinced.

"You must never expect to marry me," said Gabrielle, playfully, "until you become a Christian; so you had better make haste."

"Dear Gabrielle, I wish I could believe—if only to please you. But all books fail to satisfy me. They do not meet my doubts halfway; they do not take me by the hand and lead me out of the forest."

"I fear, Armand, it is your obstinacy."

"No, no; I am willing to be convinced. But all your writers argue unfairly: they thunder against incredulity instead of arguing with it. How am I to give up my doubts merely because they are calumniated? To believe these writers, all doubt is the invention of wickedness."

"So it is!"

"No, Gabrielle; say *weakness*, if you will, but not wickedness. It is not fair to treat us who doubt as scoundrels, and to declare our doubts are but the masks with which we conceal vicious propensities. Nor is it wise to paint—as they paint—the *misery* of denial. It is not true. I am not miserable! I never knew any one yet who was miserable because he was a sceptic. What is the use of employing untruths? Why vilify when you want to convince?"

Gabrielle could not answer him. His objection was too well founded. Not by *such* works are conversions made. To change a man's views you must meet them honestly and earnestly—candid in admitting where he is right, but drawing your strength from higher principles. Not by a book, but by a man can such a change be made.

Armand found that man. It was a Greek, in whom the Lecoëdics took great interest, and who was then stopping in their house: a man of lofty and impassioned intellect, of wide and generous sympathies, and fitted, on all hands, to cope with and master the bold, ardent spirit of this boy.

(To be continued.)

POLITICAL FABLE.

NO. I.—THE LIONS AND THE OXEN.

ONCE upon a time a number of cattle came out of the desert to settle in the broad meadows by a river. They were poor and wretched, and they found it a pleasant exchange; except for a number of lions, who lived in the

mountains near, and who claimed a right, in consideration of permitting the cattle to remain, to eat as many as they wanted among them. The cattle submitted, partly because they were too weak to help it, partly because the lions said it was the wish of Jupiter; and the cattle believed them. And so they went on for many ages, till at last, from better feeding, the cattle grew larger and stronger, and multiplied into great numbers; and at the same time, from other causes, the lions had much diminished: they were fewer, smaller, and meaner-looking than they had been; and except in their own opinion of themselves, and in their appetites, which were more enormous than ever, there was nothing of the old lion left in them.

One day a large ox was quietly grazing, when one of these lions came up, and desired the ox to lie down, for he wanted to eat him. The ox raised his head, and gravely protested; the lion growled; the ox was mild yet firm. The lion insisted upon his legal right, and they agreed to refer the matter to Minos.

When they came into court the lion accused the ox of having broken the laws of the beasts. The lion was king, and the others were bound to obey. Prescriptive usage was clearly on the lion's side. Minos called on the ox for his defence.

The ox said that, without consent of his own being asked, he had been born into the meadow. He did not consider himself much of a beast, but, such as he was, he was very happy, and gave Jupiter thanks. Now, if the lion could show that the existence of lions was of more importance than that of oxen in the eyes of Jupiter, he had nothing more to say; he was ready to sacrifice himself. But this lion had already eaten a thousand oxen. Lions' appetites were so insatiable that he was forced to ask whether they were really worth what was done for them,—whether the life of one lion was so noble that the lives of thousands of oxen were not equal to it? He was ready to own that lions had always eaten oxen, but lions when they first came to the meadow were a different sort of creature, and they themselves, too (and the ox looked complacently at himself), had improved since that time. Judging by appearances, though they might be fallacious, he himself was quite as good a beast as the lion. If the lions would lead lives more noble than oxen could live, once more he would not complain. As it was, he submitted that the cost was too great.

Then the lion put on a grand face and tried to roar; but when he opened his mouth he disclosed a jaw so dreadfully furnished that Minos laughed, and told the ox it was his own fault if he let himself be eaten by such a beast as that. If he persisted in declining, he did not think the lion would force him.

OUR AGE.

Friends! ye overpraise the times of old,
And ye languish o'er a dead ideal;
If we cannot boast an age of gold,
Men and women yet, thank God, are real.
Knighthood, noble action, simple faith,
Regal church and soldier king delight you;
But a royal life and knightly death,
Even in this age of prose, invite you.
Think not that old pieties are fled,
Think not Faith and Love can ever perish;
Do not mourn that the old forms are dead,
But the enduring spirit seek and cherish.
Trust the Soul that dwells in every soul,
Into one brave friendship let men enter;
All the stars and planets, as they roll,
Find in one great sun their common centre.
Gather up the coloured rays ere night,
Save men ere they fade from earth unheeded;
Mould them into pure creative light:
Never, never, was that light more needed.
Wander thro' the many winding ways
Of sweet thought dissolved to feeling
sweeter;
Flash the truth from swift and fiery lays,
Smooth rude passion into flowing metre.

Wise and noble action is for man,
Healthy work for all, that none may sorrow;
He alone reveres the world's large plan,
Who with cheerful brow salutes the mor-
row.
We are children of the ages past,
Trust me, friends, a right good time is ours:
Here is work that brings glad rest at last;
Here are hopes that bear immortal flowers.
Crown and crosier, sword and lyre, are
gone,
But a summer dawn when spring is failing,
And majestic days are marching on
To reproach us for our weak bemoaning.
Truer church shall be than in old times,
Lordlier governance shall bless the na-
tions,
Sweeter lips shall murmur sweeter rhymes,
God shall give us holier revelations.
Courage! ye that praise the days of old;
Ye that languish o'er a dead ideal:
If we cannot boast an age of gold,
Men and women yet, thank God, are real.
M.

OPERA BEFORE EASTER.

The great "Exposition" of musical works for the season of 1850 has now fairly commenced. The directors of the Philharmonic Concerts, and of the two gigantic Italian Opera establishments, have opened their doors, and it only remains for those who have sufficient taste and sufficient money to enter and be delighted.

The old question, as to whether London can support two Italian Opera-houses, is now again being asked. Let us begin by stating that the question is not put quite fairly. It is not London alone which, in these days of steam, is relied upon as the support of any metropolitan public undertakings. Visitors from the provinces are becoming more and more numerous and regular in their attendance, and foreigners now arrive on our shores in thousands. These temporary inhabitants of London are the very best patrons of all public entertainments. It depends entirely on the managers themselves whether these establishments shall both succeed or both fail, for we hold that they will sink or swim together. If they shew themselves to be mere vulgar rivals, they will assuredly destroy each other; but if they comprehend that they may be harmonious fellow-workers, they will, as surely, support each other. It is beginning to be clearly marked out that the Haymarket Opera-house is the home of Fashion, whilst the Covent-garden Opera is the home of Arts. It is expected now that the one shall furnish chiefly those works which may be listened to without extraordinary exertion of mind, which will admit nicely of conversation at intervals, and which will leave you with an appetite for the ballet; that the other shall bestow its principal attention upon works so elaborate that all, both behind and before the curtain, have their powers of execution and of comprehension taxed to the utmost—so complete and ambitious in structure as to form of themselves a grand exhibition

of the combined talents of poet, musical composer, scene-painter, ballet-master, and costumier. If the Haymarket establishment fix itself in the public mind as the place for minor opera and major ballet, and the Covent-garden establishment as that for major opera and minor ballet, both will flourish in mutual peace. Up to the present time nothing has been produced in the shape of novelty at either of the Operas. At her Majesty's Theatre, the revival of Mayer's vapid opera, "Medea," has enabled the admirers of Mademoiselle Parodi to ascertain precisely the amount of her inferiority to Pasta,—an injudicious step with any vocalist, but especially with one who, like Mademoiselle Parodi, has steadily worked her way to a high position in public favour. To avoid the degradation of an imitation is impossible, even with the occasional fine flashes of original conception observable in the new *Medea*. As musical requirements enlarge, great operatic works must take the place of mere scenes of vocal declamation; and, as Pasta's genius alone made the opera, we are content that "Medea" shall now rest in peace, with the seventy-six similar productions of its prolific composer.

Of Signor Micheli, the tenor, who made his *début* as *Jason*, we shall reserve a notice until he has appeared in some part less traditional.

Verdi's two operas, "Nino" and "Ernani," have been the two revivals; the first for the *début* of Signor Lorenzo, and the second for that of Mr. Sims Reeves. Signor Lorenzo has a good barytone voice, and appears to be very zealously employed in learning to sing. His action is extremely graceful, and were it not on the stage of her Majesty's Theatre, we would watch over his musical education with the liveliest satisfaction. The triumphant success of Mr. Sims Reeves in the part of *Ernani*, will, we trust, nerve him to increased exertion. The unreal school of Verdi calls for unreal vocal exertion, and Mr. Reeves must not forget that he has yet to shew his power of correctly reading the works of our greatest operatic composers. Meantime, however, we are pleased to record that his singing in "Ernani" indicates careful study, and we are now not without hope that he will see the necessity of substituting natural power for that strained and artificial method of vocalisation, which has latterly been so much applauded by unmusical audiences of Exeter-hall.

The orchestra is energetic, and amongst the stringed instruments numbers some steady and experienced players; but the wind instruments are coarse beyond even the power of Mr. Balfe to control.

The new ballet, "Les Metamorphoses," was completely successful; Carlotta Grisi dancing throughout with a grace and delicacy which called forth continued applause.

At the Royal Italian Opera, Weber's "Der Freischutz" has been revived; and repeated with increased effect, until Passion week. Anything more complete, either in the scenic or musical department of this great German poem, can scarcely be conceived. The *Caspar* of Herr Formès is a finished personation of the bold reckless huntsman; and his voice, which lacks somewhat the "soave" quality necessary for modern Italian operas, is admirable in its rough energy for the music of "Der Freischutz." Madame Castellan's *Agata*, but for her obtrusive cadences, would have been a perfect realisation of Weber's heroine, and Mademoiselle Vera, in the small part of *Annetta*, has evinced a marked improvement both in voice and style since her last appearance. Signor Maralti proved to be an excellent first appearance; but the music of *Giulio* is somewhat below the best part of his voice, which is a pure high tenor. The recitations, which replace the dialogue, are written with so much skill, that no person who does not thoroughly know the opera could imagine them to be by another hand. To Signor Costa, we believe, the credit of these interpolations is due. The choruses were sung with a precision which produced a marked impression, the soprani especially articulating the high notes with the utmost certainty and refinement. The orchestra, as usual, sounded like one colossal instrument, so perfectly was it under control in its passion and its repose. We are glad to find that the influence of Signor Costa is now felt and duly acknowledged, and that audiences have educated themselves to know that conducting is something more than beating time with a stick.

THE DRAMA BEFORE EASTER.

In the early part of the year the theatres have presented nothing of a very striking character. The event of the season was undoubtedly the reopening of Drury Lane: a bold venture thoroughly responded to by the public. Unhappily, Mr. Anderson went too much on tradition, and revived old plays instead of producing new plays. Revivals succeed when they have some peculiar attractions of scenery and getting up (and then the cost is so enormous if the thing be adequately done, that the same money would produce a novelty), or when first-rate actors play in them. Mr. Anderson's company was only respectable; and the mounting of his pieces was sometimes shabby, and at no time perfectly commensurate with the demands of audiences craving fresh marvels of scenic extravagance. "Othello" was admirably got up; but it was still short of the mark. It was not so splendid that people would go to see it for the show. "Piesco" was a daring effort; and, although unlucky as a choice, it was an effort worthy of encouragement. The new comedy by Mr. Sullivan was withdrawn in consequence of Mrs. Nisbett's departure from the company. The opening of the Olympic was also a topic much discussed. Everything in the establishment bespoke magnificence. The company was very strong in comedy; and in tragedy Brooke was the leading star. Probably, from vague apprehensions respecting the safety of this house, the public never cordially supported it. Yet, besides various revivals, the management produced Mrs. Mowatt's comedy of "Fashion," Oxenford's adaptation of Corneille's "Ariane," and Lewes's tragedy of "The Noble Heart." By the way, the vanity or ignorance, or both, of a writer in the *Courrier de l'Europe* coolly declared this last to be nothing but "Le Comte Hermann" of Alexandre Dumas, with the names and a few scenes altered—the fact being that "The Noble Heart" was performed at Manchester and Liverpool nearly a year before "Le Comte Hermann" was produced. The career of the theatre, however, was suddenly brought to a close, and the manager had to appear upon another scene, where a painful interest surrounds him. Jerrold had a five-act play there in rehearsal, and Marston an historical tragedy accepted.

At the Haymarket we have to mention the return of the Keans, who set the excellent example of playing small parts; but the only successful novelty was "Leap Year," and of Buckstone's that is one of the least successful pieces. Macready will shortly make his final appearances. Jerrold's new comedy has been fitly prepared for by the revival of his admirable "Prisoners of War" and "Time Works Wonders." Other theatres have also been suddenly smitten with a Jerroldomania: one the most favourable to their interests.

The Strand Theatre has flourished. Mrs. Glover, Mrs. Stirling, and Farren are always worth going to see; and Tom Taylor has lent them the aid of his graceful and charming pen. "Diogenes" was a decided "hit."

The Lyceum has drawn crowds to see the unparalleled magnificence of its "Island of Jewels;" and the Adelphi has had its Adelphi company, Adelphi pieces, and Adelphi success.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

THIERS AND NAPIER.—The Napiers are always fighting with sword or pen. The last passage of arms took place between the Major-General William and Adolphe Thiers *apropos* of the latter's mendacious pamphlet entitled *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. Napier, in a letter to the *Times*, pointed out a few of its falsifications—a somewhat superfluous task, since Thiers is incapable of truth in such a matter. To this critique Thiers sends a reply through Jeffs, the foreign bookseller, the substance of which is, that Adolphe Thiers disdains to attend to the attacks of one who wrote such a book as the *History of the Peninsular War*, for which Napier (according to Thiers) had access to no official French document. Napier retorts; proves that he had access to all the official documents; and brands Thiers with deliberate falsification. The style of this correspondence is amusing: Thiers pointed and flexible as his pen, Napier trenchant and crushing as his sword; the one with French levity and disregard of truth, but strict regard of the courtesies; the other reckless of forms, but careful of the truth as a thing sacred; in one word, the contrast is between the Adventurer and the Soldier.

THE PRINCIPLE OF ASSOCIATION.—In the last number of the "Révue des Deux Mondes," there is a grave and careful article by Michel Chevalier on the Report made by Thiers of the Government Commission to inquire into "L'assistance et la prévoyance publiques," in which he strongly condemns it for its decided rejection of the principle of association. "Ever since our political convulsions," he says, "many of the most eminent minds have analysed society with a view of discovering that which above all things it needs for its stability and security; and they have agreed that the principle of association, under the myriad forms which it assumes, is the true means of dissipating a host of difficulties, of supplying very many wants, and of instituting powerful guarantees. Ten years ago M. Rossi strongly insisted on the share it was indispensable to accord to association, the share which the Constituent Assembly, the Convention, the Empire, and the succeeding governments, from different but fatal prejudices, had made the mistake of refusing it. M. Rossi thus expressed himself: 'It is necessary that the principle of association should be able to adapt itself to the diverse phases of the production and distribution of riches.' No one doubts but that the associations contemplated by M. Rossi were very different from the social ateliers of Louis Blanc; but we cannot doubt that the principle of association has before it a glorious future."—[From so decided, and let us add, so important an antagonist of association, this remark is the more striking as it cannot be suspected.]

OVER-POPULATION.—In these days any man with a grain of sense in his composition can give a ready receipt for making a thinly-peopled nation seem over-populated. I am rather averse from Latin prescriptions; I will, therefore, give one in the mother tongue:—1. Take one-tenth of your population, and feed it at the expense of the rest of the community, either in union workhouses or by out-door relief. 2. Take 22,000, or thereabouts, and confine them, for offences against the laws, in prisons, built and supported also at the expense of the public. 3. Take about the same number, tempt them to pass their lives in holding out their hands in the streets and highways, and fill them liberally with the wages of industry. 4. Take another five per cent., at least, and smite them with fever, smallpox, scrofula, and consumption, by poisoning God's pure gifts of air and water, shutting out his great revealer of filth and choice purifier—the light of heaven, and withholding, or not insisting on, the use of that merciful physical revelation—the cowpox. 5. Take from ten to twenty per cent. of the whole working population, and steep them to the lips in brutal ignorance. 6. Take from the people as much money in the shape of taxes as you can squeeze out of them, and spend it very profusely and very carelessly. 7. Take of the people's time as much as you can, and waste it by laws of settlement, tardy justice trial by jury, custom-houses, excise laws, and turnpikes. 8. Take the liquid refuse of your farmsteads and drain it into ditches, and pour the offscourings of your towns into rivers, so as to waste the raw material of the people's food. Mix these ingredients well together with ample measures of beer and gin, and you have a panacea which, perseveringly applied, will bring on that dropsical fulness known by the scientific name of over-population.—*The Evils of England, Social and Economical.*

NAPOLEON, THE MAN OF THE WORLD.—We cannot, in the universal imbecility, indecision, and indolence of men, sufficiently congratulate ourselves on this strong and ready actor, who took occasion by the beard, and showed us how much may be accomplished by the mere force of such virtues as all men possess in less degrees; namely, by punctuality, by personal attention, by courage, and thoroughness. "The Austrians," he said, "do not know the value of time." I should cite him, in his earlier years, as a model of prudence. His power does not consist in any wild or extravagant force; in any enthusiasm, like Mahomet's; or singular power of persuasion; but in the exercise of common sense on each emergency, instead of abiding by rules and customs. The lesson he teaches is that which vigour always teaches,—that there is always room for it. To what heaps of cowardly doubts is not that man's life an answer. When he appeared, it was the belief of all military men that there could be nothing new in war; as it is the belief of men to-day, that nothing new can be undertaken in farming, or in our social manners and customs; and as it is, at all times, the belief of society that the world is used up. But Bonaparte knew better than society; and, moreover, knew that he knew better. I think all men know better than they do; know that the institutions we so volubly commend are go-carts and baubles; but they dare not trust their presentiments. Bonaparte relied on his own sense, and did not care a bean for other people's.—*Emerson's Representative Men.*

The following promotions have taken place consequent on the death of Vice-Admiral the Hon. D. H. Mackay:—

Rear-Admiral of the Red, Sir G. F. Seymour, C.B., G.C.H., to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Rear-Admiral of the White, Sir T. H. Dillon, K.C.H., to be Rear-Admiral of the Red; Rear-Admiral of the Blue, B. Reynolds, C.B., to be Rear-Admiral of the White; Capt. Sir J. Marshall, C.B., K.C.H., to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

Retired Capt. H. Jenkinson has also been promoted to be a Retired Rear-Admiral, on the terms proposed in the *London Gazette* of the 1st of September, 1846, but without increase of pay.

On Monday and Tuesday next the judges chambers will be closed, according to notice given on Thursday last. The offices of the Court of Chancery reopen on Saturday next.

The trustees of the British Museum have received information of a shipment from Boston, U.S., of two cases containing casts of the head and lower jaw of the Mastodon.

Emigration from Ireland is again amazingly on the increase, not, however, so much to Canada as to the United States; and the train from Limerick to Dublin is daily crowded with intending emigrants, mostly all agricultural, and who embark for their destination at Liverpool. The banks in Limerick are hourly paying out money upon the orders remitted by the friends of those people in America, who emigrated the last and preceding years.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

The Sligo papers mention the occurrence of two agrarian outrages in the county of Leitrim, attempts having been made to deter people from holding land from which the former tenants had been evicted.

MORTALITY IN THE METROPOLIS.

In the week ending last Saturday the deaths registered in the metropolitan districts were 1026. This return shows a further increase in the mortality, for since it began to rise the deaths during the two previous weeks were in the first 875, and in the second 967. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1840-9 they fluctuated between 770 and 1197, the latter amount of mortality having occurred in the twelfth week of 1845; the average of the ten weeks corrected for increase of population is 1071; the present return is therefore only less than the average by 45. The only classes of disease in which an increase on the average is remarkable are those which affect respectively the organs of respiration and the organs of circulation. The only instances in which complaints in the respiratory organs have been so fatal as in last week, at this season of the year, occur in 1845 and 1847. From pneumonia there were 90 deaths (of which 71 were amongst children); the corrected average is 85: from bronchitis there were 99 (of which more than two-thirds were among adults); the corrected average is only 47. Both these diseases show a considerable increase when the deaths are compared with the numbers returned in the two previous weeks. This excess, both on the weeks immediately preceding and on the corresponding weeks of former years, is sufficiently explained by the fact that the mean temperature, which last week was only 37.8 deg., shows a great fall on each week throughout the whole month of February and the half of March; and, taking the corresponding weeks of 1840-9, it appears that it was never so low as at present, except in 1840 and 1845, and that in six of those years it ranged from 40 to 49.7 degs. The deaths from consumption last week were 135, a number less than the average. Amongst epidemics, smallpox, scarlatina, hooping-cough, and typhus are not so fatal as usual; but measles, from which there were 23 deaths, and diarrhoea, from which there were 20, are above the average. Children are returned almost every week as accidentally suffocated in bed; amongst other deaths registered last week from this cause are two which occurred in one house. Two men and a woman died from the intemperate use of strong drink. Two men and six women died between 90 and 100 years of age. 111 persons died in workhouses, 54 in hospitals, of whom 18 were in naval and military establishments, and 6 in lunatic asylums.

The mean daily reading of the barometer at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, was above 30 inches on Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday; the mean of the week was 29.971. The mean temperature (37.8 deg., as stated above) was lower than the average of the same period in seven years, particularly on Sunday, Monday, and Saturday, when it was from 7 to 11 degs. less than the averages of these days.

Results of the Registrar-General's return of mortality in the Metropolis for the week ending on Saturday last. The first column of figures gives the aggregate number of deaths in the corresponding weeks of the ten previous years:—

	Ten Weeks of 1839-49.	Week of 1850.
Zymotic Diseases	1724	161
Dropsy, Cancer, and other diseases of uncertain or variable seat	520	31
Tubercular Diseases	1873	170
Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Marrow, Nerves, and Senses	1213	120
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels	289	47
Diseases of the Lungs and of the other Organs of Respiration	1634	231
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion	593	53
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c.	81	15
Childbirth, diseases of the Uterus, &c.	111	12
Rheumatism, diseases of the Bones, Joints, &c.	69	6
Diseases of the Skin, Cellular Tissue, &c.	11	1
Malignant Diseases	15	5
Premature Birth	239	29
Atrophy	134	18
Age	698	50
Sudden	160	31
Violence, Privation, Cold, and Intemperance	314	36
Total (including unspecified causes)	8821	1026

JOSEPH CLAYTON, JUN., PUBLISHER

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Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE. FRIDAY.

WE enter upon our duties, as chroniclers of monetary and commercial transactions in this great capital, with the money market in an extremely easy state, and commerce generally active and flourishing. There is abundance of money seeking employment, either in the way of advances on stock or commercial paper; and the rates of interest and of discount are most moderate. The half-yearly dividend of 4 per cent. interest and profits, declared at the half-yearly court of the Bank of England last week, and unanimously confirmed by the ballot on Wednesday, affords satisfactory evidence of a healthy state of things, leaving, as it does, a rest of £3,000,000, and having arisen under an advantageous employment of the capital of the Bank. The usual terms for money on call are from 1½ to 2 per cent., first class three months' bills of exchange being done at 2½, and six months' at 2¼ per cent. discount. The price of gold is steady, at about 0.10 higher than in Paris, and on a par with Hamburg. Exchequer Bills are much in demand, and an advance of about 5s. has been realized within the last fortnight.

The operations in the English Funds have been but moderate throughout the week past, with the exception of yesterday, when considerable purchases were made in Consols, which caused an immediate improvement in price to the extent of about ¼, in some instances, ½ for money. There had been a slight depreciation in Consols during the previous week, which was not until yesterday wholly recovered. On Tuesday there was suddenly a decline of from ¼ to ½ per cent., occasioned by a panic on the Paris Bourse the day before; but on Wednesday, on it being ascertained that the French panic was in a great measure groundless, Consols and the public securities generally improved considerably. Everything again looked quiescent, confidence remained firm, and money abundant, the opinion prevailing that, provided there is no political convulsion at home or abroad, the prices of Stock cannot fail to be maintained. The average quotations of the week have been, Consols, 95½ to 96 for money, and 95¼ to 95½ for the account; Three per Cents. of 1726, 94½ to 95½; Exchequer Bills, 42 to 46 prem.; India Stock for account, 264 to 267; ditto Bonds, 86 to 89 prem.; South Sea New Annuity cs, 95½.

There has been a slight improvement in the tone of the Foreign Stock Market. Prices, especially on Wednesday, were in some degree both firmer and higher. This was particularly the case with Mexican Bonds, which arose from the receipts of remittances, to the amount of about 92,000 dollars, on account of the dividends. The dealings have ranged as follows:—Mexican Bonds, 29½ to 30; Peruvian, 71½ to 72½; ditto Deferred, 27½ to 28; Brazilian, 80; ditto New (1829-30), 87½ to 88½; Granada, 16½; ditto Deferred, 3½ to 4; Equador, 34 to 35; Venezuela Deferred, 12½; Danish Five per Cents., 95, and Scrip, 3 per cent. prem.; Portuguese Five per Cents., 31½ to 32; Spanish Three Cents, 35½ to 36; ditto Five per Cents., 16½ to 17; Dutch Four per Cents., 86½ to 87; ditto Two-and-a-Half, 55½; Russian Scrip, 1½ to 1½ prem.

The panic on the Paris Bourse already alluded to, which caused a fall of two francs, has been attributed, partly to the embarrassments of some Lyonesse speculators, which necessitated some forced sales of stock, and partly to the apprehended withdrawal of the Paris and Avignon Railway Bill. It did not prevail, however, much beyond a day, and a general improvement has taken place ever since it began to subside.

There has not been much to notice in our produce markets this week. Colonial produce has been rather depressed. If anything, there has been an improvement in home produce. This has been decidedly the case with corn. There were heavy arrivals of foreign grain at the close of last week, as many as forty-four vessels from various parts of continental Europe having arrived in one day; but the supplies to market have not by any means been of corresponding abundance, and both in London and the leading provincial markets rather higher prices have been obtained.

The accounts from the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire this week represent a slight depression to have prevailed, which, however, is regarded as only temporary.

There has been no material change in the market for railway shares, which, upon the whole, has been exceedingly quiet. Caledonians have fluctuated a shade or so, and, along with South-Westerns and South-Easterns, at length reached an advance of 10s. per share. Great Westerns, Northern, and Eastern, have severally declined, while Lancashire and Yorkshire have improved.

Wednesday was the fortnightly settling-day in foreign stocks and railway shares. The transactions in both departments were, upon the whole, satisfactorily arranged.

To-day (being Good Friday) is a blank day in both the Stock and Share Markets.

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 29th day of March, 1850, is 26s. 7 1/2d. per cwt.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 23rd of March, 1850.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Table showing financial data for the Issue Department, including Notes issued (£30,472,835) and Government Debt (£11,015,100).

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Table showing financial data for the Banking Department, including Proprietors' Capital (£14,553,000) and Government Securities (£14,418,854).

Dated March 28, 1850. M MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

On Tuesday a ballot commenced at eleven o'clock in the morning for the purpose of taking the determination by vote, in print or writing, on the resolution proposed at the Court of Proprietors of the Bank of England on the previous Thursday, viz.:—"That a dividend be made of 4 per cent. interest and profits, for the half year ending the 28th of February last, without any deduction on account of the income-tax."

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

Table listing various British funds and their closing prices, such as Bank Stock, 3 per Cent. Reduced, and various annuities.

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Table listing foreign funds and their prices, including Austrian 5 per Cents, Belgian Bonds, and various other international securities.

SHARES.

Table listing various shares and their prices, categorized by Railways, Banks, and Mines.

Table listing various commodities and their prices, including Brazilian Imperial, Dito, St. John del Rey, and Cobre Copper.

Table titled 'BULLION' showing prices for Foreign Gold in Bars, Standard, and other bullion types.

Table titled 'METALS' showing prices for Copper, British Cakes, Iron, British Bars, Lead, British Pig, and Steel, Swedish Keg.

Table titled 'GRAIN, Mark-lane, March 26.' showing prices for Wheat, Rye, Barley, Malt, and Peas in various grades.

Table titled 'AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN.' showing prices for Wheat, Barley, and Oats per quarter.

Table titled 'WEEKLY AVERAGE.' showing average prices for Wheat, Barley, and Oats for the week ending March 23.

Table titled 'FLOUR.' showing prices for Town-made, Seconds, Essex and Suffolk, Norfolk and Stockton, American, and Canadian flour.

Table titled 'PROVISIONS.' showing prices for Butter, Bacon, Cheese, Hams, and Eggs.

Table titled 'BUTCHERS' MEAT.' showing prices for Beef, Mutton, Veal, Pork, and Lamb.

Table titled 'HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.' showing prices for Beasts, Sheep, Calves, and Pigs.

Table titled 'HOPS.' showing prices for Kent Pockets, Choice ditto, Sussex ditto, and Farnham do.

Table titled 'HAY AND STRAW.' showing prices for Hay, Good, Inferior, New, Clover, and Wheat Straw.

Table titled 'OILS, COALS, CANDLES.' showing prices for Rape Oil, Refined, Linseed Oil, Linseed Oil-Cake, Candles, and Coals.

Table titled 'GROCERIES.' showing prices for Tea, Bohea, Congou, Souchong, Coffee, Good Ordinary, Sugar, and West India Molasses.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, Tuesday, March 26. PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.—Williams, Holmes, and Co., Lower Woolkey Mills, near Wells, Somersetshire, paper-manufacturers—Noakes and Goble, Three Crosses-square, Borough, hop-factors—C. Tatham and T. Gray, Poplar, surgeons—T. and C. Kingsford, Mark-lane and Deptford, millers; as far as regards J. Parker—A. Lucas and R. Bennett, Trinity-terrace, Trinity-square, Southwark, corn-merchants—J. Redgate and J. and G. Braithwaite, Stathern, Leicestershire, lace-manufacturers—Wise and Wood, Manchester, consulting engineers—Sexton, Taylor, and Woodrow, Openshaw, near Manchester, and Manchester, dyers—Hickling and Lee, Coventry, ribbon-designers—W. Armstrong and J. P. Gray, Cambridge, bookbinders—De Bergue and Co., Arthur-street West, and Manchester, manufacturers of

patent vulcanised India-rubber railway-springs—T. Huggins and J. Lang, Austinfriars, stock-brokers—Maggs, Hindley and C., Friday-street and Bourton, Dorsetshire, flax-spinners. BANKRUPTS.—JAMES HILEY, South-street, Finsbury, private boarding-housekeeper, to surrender April 6, May 7; solicitor Mr. Hooker, Bartlett's-buildings; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—WILLIAM BILBY, Essex-place, Grange-road, Dalston, warehouseman, to surrender April 11, May 12; solicitors, Messrs. Van Sandau and Cumming, King-street Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birch-in-lane, Cornhill—GEORGE EVERARD, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, earthen-ware-manufacturer, to surrender April 11, 25; solicitors Mr. Young, Longton, Staffordshire; Messrs. Smith and James, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham—JOHN and ROBERT YOUNG WATSON, Sunderland, shipbuilders, to surrender April 11, May 10; solicitors, Messrs. Rolfe and Edmonds, South-square, Gray's-inn; Mr. Fell, Sunderland; official assignee, Mr. Baker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.—Sweet, Birmingham, builder; first div. of 3s. 6d. on April 4, and any Thursday; Valpy, Birmingham—Hansor, Hanley, Staffordshire, merchant; first div. of 1s. on April 4, and any Thursday; Valpy, Birmingham—Cowan, Coventry, draper; first div. of 4s. 10d. on Thursday; Christie, Birmingham. DIVIDENDS.—April 13, Ward, Bishopsgate-street Within, chemist—April 13, Macqueen, Macao, china-merchant—April 18, Ward, Warrford-court, merchant—April 24, Cooke, Worcester, cabinet-maker. CERTIFICATES.—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary on the day of meeting.—April 17, Hawke, King William street, hatter—April 18, Bell, Lambeth-walk, grocer—April 18, Kemp, Abchurch-lane, billbroker—April 18, Steane, Wellington-borough, grocer—April 10, Matthews and Martin, Chichester-place, King's-cross, drapers. SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.—Waddell, Stanrigg, near Airdrie, coalmaster, March 25, April 15—Thomson, Leith, shipowner, March 29, April 19—Galbraith, Glasgow, millers, March 29, April 19—Russell and Son, Kirkaldy, engineers, April 1 and 22—Harper, Glasgow, merchant, April 1 and 22—Wandesforde, Glasgow, portrait-painter, April 2 and 23.

Friday, March 29. BANKRUPTS.—CORNELIUS HARNES and EDWARD BISLEY, warehousemen, Aldermanbury, to surrender April 11, and May 10; solicitors, Van Sandau and Cumming, King-street, Cheapside; Sale, Worthington, and Shipman, Manchester; official assignee, Cannan, Birch-in-lane—WILLIAM BENJAMIN BLABER, painter, Little Britain, to surrender April 6 and May 10; solicitors, Mardon and Prichard, Newgate-street; official assignee, Cannan, Birch-in-lane—WILLIAM ELLISON, builder, Stainsby-road, Poplar, to surrender April 9 and May 7; solicitors, Walker, Grant, and Co., King's-road, Gray's-inn; official assignee, Stansfield—JOSEPH ROBINSON, bookseller, High Holborn, to surrender April 9 and May 7; solicitors, Willoughby and Cox, Oliford's-inn; official assignee, Stansfield—ROBERT GODSMARK, jun., grocer, Crosby-row, Walworth-road, Surrey, to surrender April 9 and May 7; solicitor, Eapin, Bedford-row; official assignee, Stansfield—THOMAS BAGLEY COUSENS, ship-builder, Wiebeach, St. Peters, Cambridgeshire, to surrender April 23 and May 14; solicitors, Child and Kelly, Old Jewry; W. Gay, Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire; official assignee, Groom, Abchurch-lane—JOHN STOLL and WILLIAM HODGSON, vinegar-makers, Christian-street, St. George-in-the-East, to surrender April 12 and May 14; solicitors, Robinsons, Queen-street-place, Southwark-bridge; official assignee, Foster, Abchurch-lane—JOHN BYNNER, grocer, Oswestry, Shropshire, to surrender April 15, May 13; solicitors, Young, junr., Mark-lane; Ludlow, Birmingham; official assignee, Christie, Birmingham—JOHN CROOME, engineer, Bristol, to surrender April 10, May 8; solicitor, Bevan, Bristol; official assignee, Hutton, Bristol—JANEZ BOWYER, miller, Boreham, Wiltshire, to surrender April 10, May 8; solicitors, W. and C. Bevan, Bristol; official assigner, —, 19, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol—MARY LEVI, JULIA LEVI, and ESTHER LEVI, stationers, Liverpool, to surrender April 12, May 23; solicitor, Cross, Liverpool; official assignee, Bird, Liverpool—SAMUEL WROTH ANTHONY, shipowner, Liverpool, to surrender April 15, May 6; solicitors, Wootton, Tokenhouse-yard; Dodge, Liverpool; official assignee, Morgan, Liverpool—WILLIAM CHADWICK, paper manufacturer, Manchester, to surrender April 10, May 1; solicitors, Atkinson, Saunders, and Atkinson, Manchester; official assignee, Pott, Manchester.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS. On the 23d inst., at Ham-common, the wife of Gordon Sullivan Forbes, Esq., of a son. On Sunday, the 24th inst., the lady of Captain Piper, of Cumberland-house, Shepherd's-bush, of a son. On the 24th inst., in Montague-square, the wife of William Kirwan, Esq., of a son. On the 24th inst., at 35, Eaton-square, Mrs. Gathorne Hardy of a son. On the 24th inst., at 5, Clarence-terrace, Regent's-park, Mrs. Macready, of a son. On the morning of the 25th inst., under the influence of chloroform, the wife of Edward Houldie, Esq., of Radnor-place, of a daughter. On the 25th inst., at No. 34, Upper Hatley-street, the Lady Laura Palmer, of a daughter. On Saturday, the 23d inst., at Hamstead Ridware Rectory, the wife of the Hon. and Rev. H. P. Cholmondeley, of a son. MARRIAGES. On the 20th inst., at the Friends' Meeting-house, at Winchmore-hill, Middlesex, Thomas Pease, of Chapel Allerton-hall, in the West Riding of the county of York, to Martha Lucy, only daughter of Henry Aggs, of Bruce-grove, Tottenham. On the 23rd inst., at St. Thomas's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, by the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, James Sutherland Mackintosh, Esq., M.D., of Wilton-place, Belgrave-square, London, to Catherine Suttie Gordon, youngest daughter of the late William Gordon, Esq., of Campbellton, county of Kirkcubright, N.B. On the 23rd inst., at Emmanuel Church, Camberwell, by the Rev. Robert Fayer, David, eldest son of the late Colin Ritchie, Esq., of her Majesty's 10th West India Regiment, to Emma daughter of the late Andrew Clark, Esq., of the Bear-garden Southwark, and Camberwell, Surrey.

DEATHS. On the 19th inst., Cadwallar James Smith Dodsworth, fourth son of Sir Charles Dodsworth, Bart., of Thornton-hall, and Newland-park, Yorkshire. On the 22nd inst., at Sandy-place, Beds, Lady Payne Buckworth, eldest daughter of the late Sir Philip Monoux, of Wootton-hou and Sandy-place, Beds, Bart., and relict of Lieutenant-Colonel Buckworth, in the 85th year of her age. On the 23rd inst., St. Vincent Arthy, the infant son of G. I. Lewes, Esq., of Kensington. On the 21th inst., at Brighton, Wm. Linton, Esq., aged 72. On the 26th inst., at his apartments in the Albany, Vice Admiral the Honourable Donald Hugh Mackay, after a few days illness. On the 28th inst., at No. 5, County-terrace, Camberwell-new road, Emma, the beloved wife of Henry Julius Jones, Esq.

PROSPECTUS OF THE LEADER. A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER. PRICE 6d.

THE master principle of the paper is, the right of every opinion to its own free utterance. It is a fact which will be confirmed by the observation of every man, that the expressed opinion of the day, as set forth in public discussion, in journals, or in books, does not represent the actual opinion of the day as it exists in the convictions of the most elevated, the most active, and boldest intellects.

The specific principles which will guide the writers in political affairs will accord with that main principle. Freed from the necessity to clip our words, or clothe our meaning in occult language, we shall endeavour to go straight to the heart of every public question, to deal with its substance, to declare our conviction in plain and unmistakable terms, and to seek for our opinion the suffrages of the People.

As our convictions will be given in a positive rather than a negative form, so we shall proceed by constructive rather than destructive methods; less striving to destroy the works which the past has built up for us, than to develop the influences which will build up the institutions of the future.

As the relative rights of CAPITAL and LABOUR, whether skilled or unskilled, cannot be ascertained by haphazard antagonism, but by equitable and judicious combination, we shall, without pledging ourselves to any special system of social reform, endeavour to elicit the best means by which those rights, apparently conflicting, but really identical, may be reconciled; and we shall encourage all well-directed efforts on the part of individuals, or of societies, to effect their reconciliation.

Meanwhile we shall advocate freedom of trade until the example of this country shall be completed in itself, and consummated in the reciprocal acceptance of other countries. Perfect free trade means a federation of the civilised globe in the works of industry.

Though insisting on the right and duty of the state to provide the means of SECULAR EDUCATION for every individual who may think fit to take advantage of it, we shall do homage to the efforts of every class or sect to extend education in accordance with its own peculiar tenets, if such be made in a spirit of candour and toleration.

But in promoting the claims of the people, we hope to show that the satisfaction of such rights, and the deliberate anticipation of their peremptory demand, will be conducive to the peace, the power, and the prosperity of the country.

In a class of subjects that overrules every other—affairs of RELIGION—we shall claim equal freedom of utterance: every persuasion will meet with respect—with the sympathy due to conscience seen in action; but the pure religion, the soul of which is faith in God obeyed in love to man,—which is superior to all sects and comprehends them all, will animate the unceasing and strenuous endeavours for its own complete emancipation.

But in promoting the removal of disabilities which press on any class of religionists among our fellow-countrymen (such, for instance, as those of the Hebrew persuasion), and which, by their remaining on the statute-book, recall the periods of intolerance and exclusiveness that gave them birth, and stand out in open opposition to the universal tendencies of the age. In this advocacy we shall tell every British subject, of whatever creed, that he stands equal in rights, in privileges, in esteem.

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